

THE
GOVERNMENT
OF IRELAND VNDER

THE HONORABLE, IVST, AND
wise Gouvernour Sir IOHN PERROT Knight,
one of the Priuy Councill to Queene ELIZABETH,

beginning beginning 1584. and ending *to*
1588.

Being

III. G. 32.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF
THE CONTINIVATION OF THE

Historie of that Kingdome, formerly set
forth to the year 1584. and now continued
to this present 1626.

Whereof

*The rest succeeding this already col-
lected, but not fully perfected,
shall shortly follow.*

Historia vera, vera vita temporis.

LONDON,

Printed for THOMAS WALKLEY, and are
to be solde in Britains Burse, at the Signe of
the Eagle and Childe.

1626.

THE
GOVERNMENT

OF GREAT BRITAIN

THE HONORABLE, JUST, AND

WISSE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND OF THE CITY OF LONDON

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

THE FIRST BOOK OF

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE

REPUBLIC OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND OF THE CITY OF LONDON

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

THE SECOND BOOK OF

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE

REPUBLIC OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND OF THE CITY OF LONDON

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

THE THIRD BOOK OF

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE

REPUBLIC OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND OF THE CITY OF LONDON

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

THE FOURTH BOOK OF

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE



TO MY MOST RE-
 spected and worthy Cossin
 BEVELL GRENVILLE
 Esquire.



T your instant entrea-
 ty, I spent many houres
 in a Commentary vp-
 on Londognos dis-
 scourse, which was no sooner ended,
 but lost through a mis-fortune;
 which fell upon my Papers, by the
 last Yeares Infection, lighting in
 my Lodging. And not being able
 yet to recduer another of the same
 Bookes, I cannot begin againe, till
 my defect be supplied. In the mean

The Epistle Dedicatory.

(Such being your desire) I adven-
tured on the Story of our Irish
Warres, But as I was in my tra-
uaile, I discovered the best part of
my Iourney already perfected by a
better undertaker. I therefore
here stopp, and present you with
thus much. If this little like you,
I will proceed againe another way,
as the time shal permitt me. Wber-
in you shall view no further then
my owne Eyes haue seene. So shall
I not turne backe till I haue fini-
shed. All being but to please you,
dispose as you may in any thing,

Your Kinsman,

and true Friend,

E. C. S.

The Epistle Dedicatory

To the Reader.



His Noble Gentleman, liking the plaine writing of a Soldier, (in whose profession an Honorable minde hath made him add experience to his affection) better then the eloquence and elaborate work of a professed Scholler, (affecting *Cæsars* matter not his words) especially, amongst our late writers delighting in two plain discourses of the famous Knight Sir *Robert* ^{ger} *williams*; And finding iust fault that our *English* are to idle in memorizing their owne exploit. Entreated, nay, commanded me (for such is his power) since he could draw no better pencill to so good a picture, to put my selfe in print, (though to the censure of every busie body) wherein, in obseruance to his will, I spent some time in discoursing vpon the *Spanish* forme of Discipline, by such exploits of our Nation against the Spaniard, as I my selfe had seene performed. But, by misfortune, already mentioned in the Epistle, my labour miscaried. And not hauing meanes to begin againe at this time, as willingly I would for his satisfaction, I was by him endued to treat of another Subiect,

A 3 being

being yet matter of the same profession, and some part acted within the compasse of mine owne experience, wherein, because the fountaine might better shew the streame, I could not chuse but ascend to a time foregoing mine, as well to begin where the former Historian of that Countries Government left, as because, that from that time, the later and succeeding troubles had their likely beginning; purposing to haue proceeded thence, to the end of the last Warres of *Ireland*: In most part of which, I had spent many of my endeouours, thether remooued from the *Netherlands*, where from a childe, I had receiued breeding, then liuing in those Warres, when this worthy Governour Sir *John Perrot* ruled in *Ireland*, where, if such had beene Gods pleasure, we may guesse it had beene happy that he had gouerned much longer, as well for the good of that Kingdome: as for the honour and contentment of our late most famous and euer renowned Queene, to whom the ensuing troubles (through the faultie Governement of his Successours, brought dishonour and grieve. First, by the losse of many worthy men (the flower of our Nation) with an infinite number of guiltlesse soules torne out of this world by misery and slaughter in those Warres, the expence of a wondrous masse of Treasure, with other provision, enough to haue shaken the Walls of the greatest Monarchy in *Europe*, if all these had beene

so employed, which was not vnlikely, if Sir *John Perrot* had beene returned into *Ireland*, as vpon the beginning of the Warres the Queene determined. Then by being so long resisted by such base Rebels concluding her Raigne, (that had flourished with so many famous Acts against the capitall Enemie of her, and her neighbours, by which they at this day, redeemed out of misery, flourish againe in greatnesse) with a strong Warre against so petty Traytours: Whereon, since time will discover the passage it selfe, I shall neede to insist no longer: This purpose of the Queenes to returne Sir *John Perrot*, was prevented by the two finnes of *Conuetsnesse* and *Malice*, reigning in the then *Gouernour* there, and a person here transcendent both in power and authority: the one, to maintaine his profit (whereunto some powerfull friend of his had too much relation:) the other not brooking Sir *John Perrots* high, and (indeede) too chollerick spirit and condition, being fearefull of his advancement, ioyned with the other. So grounding a combination, builded vp by the helpe of two other instruments of that State, the one in his owne Nature euill, the other contentious for his particular ends. Thus an Enemie Armed, it was no difficult thing, that a condemned Traytor should bee encouraged in hope of pardon, and some other mercenarie persons to accuse an Innocent.

The Epistle

To this forged accusation, That great and iust Prince (incensed to displeasure by such an one as was neere in fauour, who pretended her safety, as the colour of his intended malice, and that displeasure exasperated by some part of the accusation, which to her was personall) was vrged to giue way, euen against her heart to his prosecution, as appeared by her answer to the newes of his condemnation: for she casting into the ballance of her iust iudgement his former weighty Seruices, and zealous endeouours, and weighing them with those base persons his Accusers, and their light proofes produced against him, said thus in the hearing of men of good account, and some neere to me in blood and acquaintance. Is he found guilty? Then, in my conscience, they haue found an Innocent guilty.

And had she restored his Estate to his issue, as shee respited his Execution, being hardly drawne to giue way to his sentence. The fault had wholly layne vpon the false accusations, and sentence, thereupon procured, by the power of his Prosecutors, and Periuic of his Accusers: But so long a Reigne as hers, hath seldome escaped being spotted with greater blots, then this omission, which, if God had spared her a little longer life, she had (as I haue bene credibly tolde) repaired by a Reall restitution of his Estate, to such as he had disposed it in his life time.

Thus

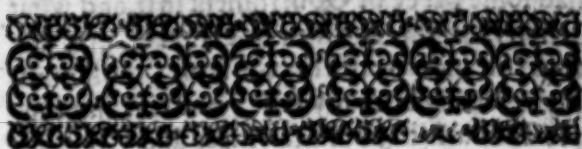
The Epistle to the Reader.

Thus much I am moued the more to mention by writing his Gouvernement, which gaue me occasion to looke further then others haue done into the course and cause of his condemnation.

As I was proceeding in my intended discourse, I gayned notice, that this Story succeeding Sir *Iohn Perrots* time, was already vnder the pen of a more able hand, one that had taken much paines in that Subiect, (onely hauing omitted Sir *Iohn Perrots* time for some particular reasons) which must needes blemish my worke, because not so substantiall. I abruptly therefore brake off, with such an excuse as to him belonged, who was the motiue of my vndertaking. And if this, thus much, come in Print, I pray you know it, to be his will onely. But if this weake labour be not misliked, I will proceede further, as time shall spare me leasure.

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To



To the Queenes most Excel-
lent Maiestie.

*Sir Iohn Perrots Opinion for the suppressing of
Rebellion, and the well Governing of Ire-
land, written by him vpon the Queenes com-
mandement, in the time of the Earle of Des-
monds and the Lord of Baltinglasses Rebel-
lion. 1582.*

I Haue found the charge that your
Maiestie committed vnto mee for
the setting downe of mine opinion,
how your Realme of *Ireland* might
with the least charge be reclaimed from Bar-
barisme to a godly Gouvernement, somewhat
difficult, by reason of mine owne insufficiency,
many wayes for so weighry a cause. Neuer-
thelesse, entring into consideration, first of
your Maiesties most godly and Princely care
in this behalfe, and next of my most bounden
duty to your Maiesty, I haue beene embold-
ned to set downe what I obserued, were the
causes of the disorders of the Land, whilst I

had some peece of Government in it, and what I then thought, and now doe thinke, may bee some meanes to reforme the same, most humbly referring both my selfe, and this my simple discourse to your Maiesties, and Councels grauer & deeper consideration, and as humbly craning pardon, if in seeking to discharge my duty truly and plainely, I touch any thing that may seeme offensive.

It is most apparant, that the regard your Maiestie hath had to God, and his will in all your Princely proceedings, hath so wonderfully blessed your Estate, that as wee your faithfull Subiects, doe loue and honour you, so all forraigne Nations doe admire and reuerence you for it: A cause for vs to thank God most hartily, and a patterne for all Princes to immitate most diligently. Wee therefore to you, and you to God, are to gine all the honour and glory.

It is also apparant, what continuall care you haue had of that your Realme of *Ireland*. The great and almost insupportable charges that you haue sustained to doe it good, doth well witnesse the same. For so great a masse of Treasure haue you already imployed to that end, that no Prince in the world, (except your Maiestie, who hath bin moued with conscience of your people, and feare of God only) would

would in reason or good pollicy, giue so much for the purchase of such an other Land, to be enioyed in peaceable possession. And yet, notwithstanding all that, your Maiesties care and cost that way, hath not hitherto yeilded that fruit that your Maiesty doth desire. For the State of that Country hath growne dayly from worse to worse, and from dangerous to most dangerous.

Many men doe alledge causes hereof: But next to the want of the true knowledge of God, and of the due course of Justice, to giue euery man a peaceable propriety of that which is his owne, I take (yn der correction) that the smoothing vp of all former Rebellions, by Pardons and Protections, hath bene the misery and cause of most of this mischief. For if it were not too bitter a rehearsall, it were no hard matter to make it appeare, how one Rebellion during your Maiesties Raighe, hath hatcht another, and how againe of all them, this last more dangerous then they all, hath taken this strong rooting with forsaigne combination.

Leauing this third cause a while, I take the pardon to say a little of the two former principall causes, want of Religion, and Lawe. It is a lamentable thing to behold, how generally in that Realme, they are so farre, of not onely, from true, but also (in effect) from any knowledge at all of God; that Saint Patrick

is more familiar, and of better credite with them, then Christ Iesus our Saviour. How can a people so estranged from God, and their duty to him, haue any grace to know their lawfull Prince, and their duty to her? The like is to be said of the Lawes, from which they flye, as from the yoke of bondage, and not desire to be tyed by it, as by the linke of humane Society, as they ought to be; The reformation must therefore begin at God. His will and word must be duly planted, and Idolatry extirped. Next, Law must be established, and lycentious customes abrogated.

The meanes to effect both, is now most fitly offered by the Rebellion now a foote: So as a man that should giue his opinion for the reformation of *Ireland*, might conclude all circumstances with this one short resolution: Correct this Rebellion thoroughly, and reforme *Ireland* presently. I must therefore craue pardon to say a little more concerning this Rebellion, before I meddle with other particularities of reformation. There be three strong reasons to moue your Maiesty to correct this Rebellion with all earnest severity, not allowing pardon or protection to be giuen to any man, but vpon speciall and vrgent great causes. The first reason is, The charge that God hath committed to your Maiesty ouer that people, to see the good maintained, or at the least, defended, and the bad suppressed, or at the least repressed.

Then

Then the account that God will require for the innocent blood, that hath beene there cruelly spilt by Traytors, and for the miserable oppression of the better sort of your Maiesties Subjects, who haue beene there burned, rai- shed, robbed, and spoyled: the cry whereof is now shrill in Gods care, for vengeance a- gainst these cruell Rebels, and disordered dealers.

The second reason, is a present vrging ne- cessity, which may not be neglected, but with dangerous error in policy of Government. For remit this Rebellion, and yeeld wholly and for euer the Lamb to the Wolfe, and the Subject to the Traytor, who will so keepe him vnder, that hee shall neither will nor dare euer hereafter to oppose himselfe on your Ma- iesties behalfe or Service.

The third reason is commodity: For (be- sides that all rules and orders for reformation, may thereupon be the more readily and lesse chargeably put in execution) there will ex- ceate to your Maiesty by due course of Justice the better halfe of that Land, whereof what great revenue may in short time accrue to your Maiesty, over and above, what may be employed to reward and strengthen those that are dutifully disposed, shall in part appeare in place, where the commodities of Ireland shall purposely be spoken of.

Thus it appeareth, that the seuerer correction
of

of this Rebellion, is the first and soundest step
of reformation, and that the same is grounded
vpon duty to God, necessity, policy, and
commodity; all which points would yeeld a
larger discourse, if that it were either my pur-
pose, or needfull to your Maiesty, who know-
eth and vnderstandeth all.

Least some might draw this mine opinion
of a seuerer correction, into the reckoning of a
more cruell sentence: then I meane: I protest
it is farre from me to desire any extirpation;
but rather that all might bee saued, that were
good for the Countrey to be saued. Yet this I
say, Till your Maiesties Sword hath meeke-
ned all, I thinke it neither Honour nor safety
to graunt mercy to any. But when the Sword
hath made a way, then, as to pardon all, would
be too remisse a pittie. So, not to pardon ma-
ny, would be an extremity nothing agreeable
to your Maiesties most godly and mercifull
inclination. Otherwise there would be such a
vacuity of ground there, (as it is already too
great) that your Realme of England, though
it be most populous, through your Maiesties
most godly Gouvernement, (God be thanked,
and long continue it) were not able to spare
people, to replenish the waists.

It resteth now to speake of the particular
means, as well to re-press this Rebellion, as
thereupon to reforme the Realme. First, very
good choyle being made (as there is already)

of

of your Deputy, it is most requisite (for the time of his continuance in that Seruice, which in my opinion had need be seuen yeeres for so great a worke) that all his actions there be throughly backed by your Maiestie, and none of them crossed, to worke him your Maiesties disgrace (which the *Irish* will soone espie) either by suggestions thence, or practises here, during his continuance in charge there; but vpon his discharge to answere all with his life and liuing: your Maiesties Deputy being thus fortified with credit, he must also be throughly maintained with sufficiency of men, money, munition, and victuals: but before I speake of them, I thinke it necessary to remember, that for the principall points of the gouernment of that Land, it shall bee requisite that certaine rules be prescribed to euery Deputy by your Maiestie, and Counsell here. And yet he not to be so ryed to any of them, but that vpon vrgent causes he may breake or alter them.

To returne to prouision. And first for men. All wards being furnished, I take 800 English horsemen: 3000 English foot-men, and 1000 Galloglaghes, Kerne, and Irish shott will suffice for this purpose: But because it shall bee necessary to ease your Maiesties good subiects of the Cesse for the souldiors, wherwith they haue beene hitherto burthened, I thinke it requisite that in leuy of that Cesse, the pay be according to the rates insuing, as your Maiestie

alloweth in all your other seruices. And the rather in respect as well of the painfull dangers that these Souldiers must abide, as also that they may liue without rauine and spoyle.

The pay.

15720 lib.

Every band of 100 Horsemen to haue a Capitaine at 6 s. 8 d. a Lieutenant at 3 s. 4 d. a Guidon at 2 s. a Trumpet at 18 d. a Surgeon at 18. d and every horseman (besides 10 dead payes) at 12 d. which being all sterling, and every band by the day to 105 s. by the moneth of thirty dayes, to 157 lib. 10 s. by the yeere of 12 moneths and five oddes dayes to 1890. lib. In all by the yeere.

4565 lib.

Every band of 100 foot. men to haue a Capitaine at 4 s. a Lieutenant at 2 s. an Ensigne at 12 d. a Sergeant at 12 d. a Drumme at 12 d. a Surgeon at 12 d. and every Souldier (besides 10 dead payes) at 8 d. which being all sterling ancient; every band by the day to 4 lib. 3 s. 4 d. by the moneth of 30 dayes, to 125 li. by the yeere of 12 moneths and 5 oddes dayes, to 1120 lib. 16 s. 8 d. In all by the yeere.

6874 lib.
38. 4 d.

Every band of 100 Kernes, Galloglaghes, and Irish foot, to haue a Capitaine at 2 s. a Lieutenant at 12 d. a Guidon at 8 d. a Piper at 8 d. and every Kerue at 4 d. without dead payes, which being all sterling, a moneth every band by the day to 36 s. 8 d. by the moneth of 30 dayes, to 56 lib. 10 s. by the yeere of 12 moneths and 5 oddes dayes, to 687 lib. 8 s. 4 d. In all by the yeere.

Totalin of your Maiesties pay. 67619 lib. 3 s. 4 d.

Where-vnto.

Adds for the Deputies and other officers entertainment, furnishing of Wardes, and other extraordinary charges, and also towards buildings in places convenient, whereof the charge is very vncertaine.

3738s. lib.
16s. 8d.

And so.

Your Maiesties whole charge in certainty for this seruice, (excepting the vncertainty of the charges of buildings) will amount vnto.

100000lib.

Here (by the way) I thinke it expedient, for auoyding of confusion of new and old reckonings together, that old former payes and debts remaining in arrearages vnto the taking of this seruice in hand be cleared, and discharged. And then for this new reckoning thus made, it behoueth to shew how or whence the money may be leauied. In mine opinion, (the things before rehearsed aduisedly considered) it were mony well bestowed for so good a purpose, though the whole came directly out of your Highnesse Treasure; And yet it is to be remembred, that besides your Maiesties continuall yeerely charge which is not small, you haue in some one yeere (as I am giuen to vnderstand) spent as much as this vpon that countrey seruice. But considering the great charges that your Maiestie hath and must sustaine otherwayes for the safety of your people and

Countries, you may in reason and honor admit an extraordinary remedie, though at the first sight, it carry some shew of an inconuenience. I suppose therefore (vnder correction) that it shall be good, that your Maiestie after the example of France, Spaine and Flanders, where most of the small money consisteth of base coynes, doe also cause to bee coyned yeerely during the first foure yeeres, 100000 *li.* in pieces of 8 *d.* 4 *d.* 2 *d.* and 1 *d.* the same to containe, but a fourth part of fine siluer, letting all coines that are currant there of good gold and siluer to run as now they doe: so your Maiesties charge, besides all charges of coynage, will amount to no more but 25000 *lib.* yeerely which in foure yeeres would come to 100000 *lib.* which by that time your Maiestie with Gods fauour should see would bring you a faire reckoning of that countrey and government.

The place fit for coynage, whether at the Tower of London, or any other port towne of England that hath more commoditie for fewell, or else rather in Ireland. I referre to your Maiesties, and Counsels considerations. If in Ireland, I thinke it very necessary to call in all the base money that is there now currant, paying ready sterling mony for the same, at the rates it now goeth. The masse of that base money would presently set the mint a worke: and being new molten, would with
some.

some supply serue this turne. This being thought good : then surely the Towne of Rosse in the Countie of Wexford will bee a most apt place for the mint, by reason of the great abundance of wood which groweth along the Riuer that commeth close by that town, the felling whereof will be seruiceable; not onely for this worke, but also for the quietnesse of the countrey there abouts.

Some scruple may bee made here by the late experience of this Realme, what inconueniences may grow by imbasing the coyne. It cannot be denied, but it was somewhat inconuenient for this Realme, living vnder cinill and orderly gouernment : yet the necessitie of the weighty seruice then being supplied by it, wee see all the inconueniences well overcome through your Maiesties peaceable gouernment, (God be thanked for it.) But the example of this Realme, or of any other commonwealth already reformed doth not hold in this case : For, as imbasing of coyne and such like dangerous innouocations may breed harme in well gouerned States : So in *Ireland* being all out of order it can doe no harme at all, but rather it is to be hoped, that the admission of this one small inconuenience, may be a meane to redresse, not onely a number of other greater inconueniences, but also it selfe too wihall in the end.

Let it be confessed, that the prices of things

will by that meanes within a yeare or two, vpon
discouery of the basenesse; rise to double,
and that both Souldier and Country man shal
for the time loose accordingly.

If the reformation doe immediatly recom-
pence the losse treble, then may I aske, what
harme hath either Souldier or Country man
receiued? That it will so, may appeare thus:
Scarce the fourth foote of *Ireland* is at this
houre manured; and of that scarce the fourth
penny profit made, that the soyle would yeeld,
if through a reformation the Husbandman
might haue a safe and peaceable vse both of it
and of his Cattell. And yet I say nothing of
Mynes, and a number of other hidden Com-
modities that a ciuill reformed Gouvernement
would bring with it. Now it may please your
Maiesty, that I may reckon, and reason thus:
First, coyning in foure yeares 400000 pound,
your Maiesties turne is serued for 100000
pound. Then calling it downe at fixe yeares
end, to the iust value it is worth, whereby it
will be for euer after a very necessary Coyne
to bee currant, for the reliefe of your poore
Subjects, not onely of *Ireland*, but also of *Eng-
land*, the Country shall lose 300000 pound.
That this shall be treble recompenced, by the
reformation I suppose will thus bee prooued:
Allow (for example) that the whole profit of
Ireland is not yearely aboue 100000 pound.
Adde to this a treble profit in quantity of
ground

ground to be manured, and another treble in quality of manuring, for two yeares betwixt the end of the Coynage and the fall, allowing the first foure yeares to be fruitlesly spent in reforming (though there bee hope that that time will be shortned) I thinke the reckoning of a treble recompence, falleth out apparantly. In these matters of State, there can be nothing set downe so plaine, that will not admit a contradiction. And therefore (perhaps) it may be said: This is a good and easie speculation. But I trust (God giuing good encrease) it will proue as good and as easie an action. To God therefore, and to your Maiesties gracious consideration, I thus leave it.

Viſtualls and Munition are now to be provided for. And sure there must be speciall regard had of both. Experience of the misery, and defect in Sernice, I found that way maketh me to give this speciall caution, leaving all particular direction thereof, to those that haue better skill therein then I haue. Nevertheless, the chiefe Viſtualaer being chosen a man of good substance, skill, and conscience, he had neede (in mine opinion) be impressed 10000 pound currant money of *England* vpon good sureties, not onely to answer the Stock, but also to haue Grainers of Corne in places apt for the Sernice.

These things thus provided; In mine opinion, the standing seate for the Deputy and
the

the Law, would bee translated from *Dublin*, (which is apt for nothing else, but to send and receiue readily from *England*) to *Athlon*, which is (as it were) the Centre of *Ireland*, and scituate both in a good soyle, apt for all things necessary, and on the *Shennon*, which is the best Riuer of the Realme, and would with a small charge be made portable twenty miles aboue *Athlon* at least. By that meanes, as the Deputy may vpon euery occasion (be it neuer so suddaine) be within twelue houres in the farthest Prouince frō him: So in short time the repaire hither from all quarters of the Realme, would breede a thorow-fare, euen through Desarts and Woods, that are now lurking holes for Rebels, and Nourceries for Rebellion.

The Deputy thus furnished and seated, he had neede for his better assistance, to haue two Presidents with competent Officers to those States, and those such men for Religion, conscience, courage, diligence, and ability both of bodies and purses, as respecting their duties to God and your Maiesty, the good of their Country and their owne credites, may attend their charges constantly against all toyle some dangers, & corrupt gaine, shewing themselves in all their actions reformers & not deformers.

Their standing seates will be most apt, the one for *Mounster* at *Killmallock*, the other for *Ulster* at *Liffuer*. So (as occasion shall require) may they best answer the Deputy, and the Deputy

Deputy then being, as it were, in the middest betwixt them, of equall distance from them both.

Then there is needfull to be two Marshalls, who being aptly chosen for the purpose, should at the direction of the Deputy and Presidents goe to one exploit, while they be eyther at some other, or else otherwise necessarily ministring Iustice. Thus the Deputy answering, and they assisting one another, both the labour will be the easier, and the Enemie the more doubtfull, being set to five severall wayes. As before of the Deputy, so here of these Officers, I thinke it requisite that their Service haue some limitation of time, and that the Presidents five yeares, vnlesse sicknes, or other necessity occasion the contrary. And for the Marshalls, it were not amisse they were made Parentees to continue during life, vnlesse through misbehaviour they should deserue to be displaced, or through good desert to be better aduanced.

In choise of the Lord Chauncellour and all other Officers, there would be like regard had, that through needinesse they bee not carried from Iustice, which next vnder God must bee the chiefeest reformer. The like is to be said of the Clarke of the Check, that he be a carefull man to see the bands full.

Also the Captaines, their Officers and Souldiers, that they make neither a Haruest of the
c Service,

Service, nor a spoyle of the Subiects, but rather (together with seeking to suppress the Rebellion without malice to any mans person) to sowe the seede of good example, whereby both themselues, and those that their Service shall be meane to reforme, may reape of God and your Maiesty an honest & godly Haruest, to the iust reward of their Services both for bodies and soules. There are diversities of opinions, what service were fit to bee first attempted, and where.

Some in *Ulster* against the *Scots*: Some in *Connaught* against the *Burks*: Some in *Mounster* against *Desmond*: and some in *Leynster* against *Baltinglaffs*, and each haue their reason: It were not good to neglect any of them, but presently at least to front every of them: The choyse therefore where to begin, would be left at large at the Deputies discretion, to doe therein as he seeth cause. Neuerthelesse, above all the rest, that in *Leynster*, which aptly may be called an intestin mischiefe, would be (in mine opinion) first dealt withall as well for the indignity of the matter, as also for the suppression of the *Birnes*, *Tobies*, and *Caucenagbes*, which (as now to *Baltinglaffs*) haue, and ever will be ready firebrands of Rebellion to the *Omoores*, *Oconers*, and all others: For vntill they be eyther extirped, or thoroughly brought vnder by fortifications vpon their fastnesses, *Dublin*, *Kildare*, *Westmeath*, the Kings & Quenes Countiees

cannot be cleare either of theirs, the *Omoors*
and *Oconors* incursions & spoyles, or of doubt
of the *Magoghigans*, *Omolyes*, & other stirring
Irish borderers. But they being suppressed, the
Omoors & *Oconors* lose all their chiefe strength
and refuge, and the residue with either the
Sword or the Law, will be easily enough kept
vnder: So as then the Pale may without feare
or danger, attend your Maiesties other Service
with their best ayde: That being happily (as
it will, with Gods fauour, be soone atchieued)
then is your Deputy to proceede against the
rest, and still as hee goeth to make great paces
throughout all their Woods and fatnesses, and
small fortifications vpon euery their streight
and strength, after the example of your Maie-
sties most Noble Progenitors in subduing of
Wales. And whilst this is in doing your Maie-
stie, had neede to haue not onely part of your
Navy to lye on the Coast, to answere forraign
attempts if there be cause, and to keep the Re-
bels from starting ouer Sea. But also small Ves-
sels to lye vpon the *Seas* to impeach their In-
uasions. The Rebellion being repressed, and
your Maiesty hauing shewed mercy to those
that you shall see cause to bestowe it well vpon,
then must the fruits of peaceable Gouverne-
ment be made to appeare; To that end, it shall
be requisite to call a Parliament, and by Au-
thority thereof, not onely to reuine all former
olde Statutes, that shall be consonant to a re-

formed Government; but also to Enact new for the establishing of the Articles ensuing, and such other, as vpon aduice shall be thought meete.

1 First, for as much as the only way for true obedience to the Prince, groweth by true knowledge of God, it shall be requisite that two Vniuersities, where the same may bee truly taught, be erected with as conuenient speede as may be. The fittest places for them will be at *Lymbrick* for the South part, and *Armagh* for the North: The meanes to doe it, may bee partly by some of the Lands that shall excheat to your Maiesty by this Rebellion, and partly by imposition of workes, labours, catriages, and money, as Fines vpon those that shall bee thought fit to be pardoned.

2 Item, to the end it may appeare, that the reformation tendeth to a lawfull Gouvernment, it shall bee meete that a Collection bee made of the Lawes already in force, and a publique denuntiation made by Proclamation, for the putting of them in present Execution, especially the Lawes of King *Kegisb.*

3 Item, the Earle of *Ormond* is to be compounded withall for his liberties of *Tibredary*: so as your Maiesties Lawes onely ruling there, my Lord, neuerthelesse, to haue the Excheate, as by the ordinance of *Wales* the Lords Marchers haue there: As for the Earle of *Desmond*

mond his liberties of County *Pallantine* in *Kerry*, there needeth no composition with him, he being in Rebellion.

4 Item, that all *Ireland* bee reduced into Manours, so as having Courts, Barons, Lectes, and Lawdayes kept orderly vpon them, the people may haue Justice for meane actions neere home.

5 Item, that all Cesse, cuttings, and *Irish* exactions, as *Bannaght*, *Coyne*, and *Livory*, *Fewey*, *Sore*, *Black rents*, and such like bee cleane abollished: And that in lieu thereof a certaine Annuall rent bee rated vpon every Plow Land, to the vse of the Lord by composition, tripartity indented to be made betwixt your Maiestie, the Lord, and his Freeholder by the Lord Deputy, Lord Presidents, or other Commissioners by them authorized, reseruing besides for your Maiesty, according to the Statutes made for that purpose, 13 shillings foure pence vpon every Plow land, with prouiso, that if the Lord doe breake the composition, or take againe any of the said exactions, then hee to forfeit the inheritance of those Lands. And that by that tripartity Indenture, both the Lord and the Freeholder bee bound to let his demeanes, or any other Land that he shall demise to the Tennant, otherwise called *Charle*, at a reasonable rent certaine, for terme of 21 yeares at least.

Thus the Freeholder and the Tennant being

ing at a certainty, and rid of the vncertaine
spoyle, and spending of the Lord, and feeling
the ease and commodity thereof, will with-
stand the vnlawfull attempts of the Lord, and
be ready with his body and goods against him
(if neede bee) at the deuotion of the State,
that shall be meanes thus to enrich and better
his estate.

6 Item, no Lord or Gentlemen for any re-
spect or colour of Seruice, be admitted to put
vpon his Lordship or Signory any Galloglagh,
Kerne, or Shot, or to grant them any *Kinclagh*,
Follow *Banaghhag* or *Banaghhur* vpon paine
of felony: Neuerthelesse vpon any great ne-
cessity the Lord Deputy, or Lords Presidents,
shall put in any Galloglagh, Kerne, or Shot, and
those to be called and reputed your Maiesties
Galloglagh, Kerne, or Shot.

7 Item, that all Brehons Carraghers, Bardes,
and Rymers, that infect the people, Friars,
Monkes, Iesuites, Pardoners, Nunns, and such
like, that openly seeke the maintenance of Pa-
pacy, a Traytrous kinde of people, the Bel-
lowes to blow the coales of all mischiefe and
Rebellion, and fin spies of Antichrist, whose
Kingdome they greedily expect to bee resto-
red, be executed by Marshall Law, and their
fauourers and maintainers by due course of
Law, to be tryed and executed as in cases of
Treason.

8 Item, If your Maiesty in respect of pol-
licie,

licie, or otherwise, doe not thinke it good, vtterly to destroy the *Irish Scots*, that doe continually innade your good Subiects, and ayde the Rebellious against your Highnesse: That it were well your Maiesty did graunt to the Earle of *Argyle* an yearely Pention for a time, to the end he should reſtraine them from comming euer into *England*.

9 Item, that the *Engliſh* Horſemen & Footmen, the Galloglaghes, Keme, and *Irish* Shot, bee placed in the ſeueral Prouinces of the Realme, as the ſervice and the neceſſity of the place ſhall require: And that of the Lands in your Maieſties diſpoſition by Excheat or otherwiſe, as ſoone as conueniently may bee, ſome portions bee allotted to them to dwell vpon, and manure at a certaine reaſonable rate. And yearely as the commodity of their Lands encreaſeth, the wages to abate, and ſo at length cleane to exſtinguiſh.

10 Item, to the end the Ports in *Ireland*, eſpecially of *Mounſter*, may be inhabited and fortified againſt forraigne attempts; it ſhall bee well your Maieſty doe not onely ſtrengthen the Priuiledges already graunted, but alſo graunt new.

11 Item, that Merchants in generall be prohibited vpon paine of death, to ſell Powder, or any kinde of Warlike Munition to any of the *Irish*.

12 Item, that honeſt and ſkilfull men be taken

ken out of every Court of Record here, and placed there for the setting of the due course of the Lawes. And for their better encouragement to doe well, that in respect of their honest travels, they be promised preferments of Offices in the Courts here, as any doe fall fit for them.

13 Item, that the Glybb, and all *Irish* habite of men and women, be presently abolished, and that Orders be set downe for enlarging the *English* tongue, and extinguishing the *Irish* in as short a time as conveniently may be.

14 Item, that the factions of *Butler* and *Geraldine*, with the titles of *Ahmaba* and *Cragh-maba* be taken away.

15 Finally, to the end your Maiesties State be more followed, and depended vpon then hitherto it hath beene, and the Lords of the Counties lesse, (reseruing to them the honour and reputation due to their places, as the Noble men here haue.) I thinke it very necessary that a survey be taken of all their Lands: and that your Maiesty, by good aduise, shall take such a third part thereof into your hands, as shall ye fittest for the furtherance of your Seruice: Giuing them of improoued Lands in *England* by way of exchange, a valuable recompence. So shall your Maiesties followers encrease, and theirs diminish to the great assurance of your State there: Besides, that by that meanes your Highnes shall haue alwayes
in

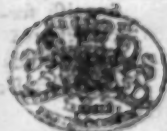
A CONTINVATION
of the History of IRELAND vnto
this time 1626, whereof this is the
*first Booke, beginning 1584. and
ending 1588. the rest shall
follow.*



Hen Queene Elizabeth
(the mirrour of women,
and most famous of Prin-
ces) had to the wonder of
the world, and her owne
euer flourishing fame, go-
uerned these her King-
doms of *England and Ire-*
land, for the space of almost fixe and twenty
yeates, and did now plainly finde; that the
Romish and Spanish practises (those ambiri-
ous States affecting vniuersall Supremacie, the
one in ouer, ruling Religion, the other in coue-
ting absolute Monarchy) had taken holde of
the reuolting disposition & nature of the *Irish*
(now wearier of the *English* yoke of obedi-
ence then euer: in respect of their contrariety
in Religion, which (through their wildnesse

B

and



Queene Eli-
zabeths pro-
sperous and
peaceable go-
uernment.

1584

The Romane
Locusts, and
especially *Sanders*, incendi-
aries of Re-
bellion,

The Popish-
Spanish for-
ces defeated
by the Lord
Gray then De-
puty.

The too speed-
y recalling of
the Lord *Gray*
hindered the
viter extingui-
shing of *Des-
monds* insur-
section.

and barbarisme) they would not have beene so sensible of, but by the stirring vp of the Ro-
mane Locusts: the instruments of strife, blood,
and dissention) as late manifestation was made
in the fruit of that wicked Priest and Traytor,
Doct^r *Sanders* his worke, who not onely
drew in the inuading Popish-Spanish forces
(one of those States authorising, the other
supporting) into *Mounster*, where at *Smer-
wick* they were defeated by her Maiesties for-
ces, vnder the commaund of the right worthy
and religious Deputy the Lord *Gray*, but had
likewise incited the Lords of *Desmond* and
Balsinglasse, with many their confederates, to
an insurrection (not without suspicion of the
Earle of *Kildares* conniuecie therein) which
fire being well quenched, by the wisdom
and valour of that noble Gouvernour, but not
viterly extinct, he being too speedily revoked
thence by the meanes of his enemies at Court,
enuying his vertues, and malicing his successe.
And the sword committed vnto two Iustices,
who as in bodies and qualities, so varied they
in dispositions and affection. Way was given
by neglect, (the Handmayde of diuision) to
the reuiuing those sparkes, which lay hid, and
couered in the embers of the Iesuites forge;
which her Maiestie discerning, repented, (no
doubt) the calling away of the former Depu-
tie, but like a great minded Prince, (vnwilling
to confesse error, or to shew the power of
such

such as had preuailed with her in this particular) called her selfe home to a new election of such a Gouernour, as was likely to answere the necessity of her seruice, and to rule that Kingdome to the good and quier of her people, wherein though her happinesse was such, as to haue plenty of worthy seruants (*Regis ad exemplum, &c.*) yet most worthily, the lot of her iudgement fell at this time vpon Sir *John Perrot*, a Gentleman descended of an auncient and Noble family, and that illustrated by his owne vertue, which being supported with a faire Patrimony, (the effectuall grace of Ancient Nobility) gaue glory to his minde. His profession being a Souldier, for as his meanes bestowed grace vpon the profession, so the profession returned the more honour to his vndertaking; free hazard being indeede the high path to honour, especially when it is guided by a transcendent iudgement, which hee had formerly manifested by diuers employments. In her Maiesties Nauie hee had not long before, the command of sixe of her Shippes, to encounter *Stakeley*, expected with the Papall banner, to haue inuaded *Ireland*: Hee was the first Lord President of the Prouince of *Mounster*, made by the aduice of Sir *Henry Sidney*: While he was Deputy of *Ireland*, wherein hee had gouerned with good successe to her Maiesties Service; and such notice had she taken of his iudgement and experience in that King-

Sir *John Perrot* elected Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Sir *John Perrot* employ-ment against *Stakeley*.

Sir *John Perrot* the first President of *Mounster*.

Sir John Per-
ratts opinion
for reforma-
tion of Ire-
land, applau-
ded by the
Queene and
Councell.

Sir John Per-
ratts taking of
the sword.

Sir John Per-
ratts speech
when he re-
ceiued the
sword.

dome, as shee required his opinion in writing
for reformation of errors, and establishing a
perfection in the government there, which he
performed to her good liking, and the ap-
plause of her Councell.

This iudicious and exact discourse I have
added (for the satisfaction of the Reader) to
my Preface. These meritts induced that pro-
vident Prince to this his Election. So as com-
mission was given, and the sword delivered
him in Christes Church in *Dublin* on the 26.
of Iune anno 1584. by the afore mentioned Ju-
stices, at which time, (peradventure in imita-
tion of the ancient Romane Gouvernours, who
were ever accustomed at their Election into
publique Office, to make Orations to the peo-
ple) hee made a brieffe speech more plaine and
pithy then glorious or eloquent, the words be-
ing to this effect.

“ That since it had pleased God and her
“ Maiestie to commit to him that great go-
“ uernment, how weake so euer hee were to
“ vndergoe so heauy a weight, yet hee would
“ doe his best endeavour to distribute equall
“ Iustice vnto all, which hee knew to be her
“ Maiesties minde. And, quoth he, this sword
“ (laying his hand vpon the sword of State)
“ shall punish ill doers without partiality, and
“ protect the good subiect from violence and
“ iniury; but because words and deedes doe
“ now a dayes vse to dwell farre assunder; I
“ leaue

"leauē you that heare me now, hereafter to
 "iudge mee and my words by my deedes.
 This short speech, being pronounced in such
 a manner, as his naturall Maieſtie of perſo-
 nage, ſpirit, and countenance did vſually ſh-
 ford, receiued no leſſe applauſe from the ſtan-
 ders by, then it gaue them hope it would
 proue a debt wherein the payment would iuſt-
 ly follow the promiſe. The ceremony being
 ended with the accuſtomed rites thereunto
 belonging. The next day hee communicated
 in Councell his commiſſion and inſtructions;
 which for the better ſatisfaction of ſuch as
 miſtake the graunt of that gouernment, both in
 limitt of authority and terme of Reſidence: I
 haue thought meete to declare, that his Pat-
 tent was as all other Deputies, not with limi-
 tation of yeares, or time of gouernment, but
 during pleaſure, containing power to make
 warre and peace; To leaue Armes and Forces
 for that purpoſe; To puniſh and pardon offen-
 ders; To conſerre all Offices, and collate all
 Spirituall promotions and dignities (a ſewe of
 them excepted) concluded with the greateſt
 Latitude of authority which can bee giuen a
 Subject; which is, to doe all things in caſes of
 Iuſtice and gouernment, as the Prince might
 doe being preſent. The reſeruatiō of making
 Priue Counſailers, great Officers, Biſhops,
 and ſuch like, alwayes giuen heere by the
 Prince himſelfe, with diuers other things, too

The ampli-
 tude of the
 Deputies Com-
 miſſion.

The erecting
of the Vniuersity
in *Dublin*,
gine in charge
to the Deputy.

long to be here recited: In his private instructions, besides matters of profit, as sparing her Maiesties purse, and easing her charge, settling of differences amongst the subjects, and planting indifferencie betweene the superiour and inferiour, taking away thereby dependencie; the bane of that Kingdome: There was precisely given him in charge the erection of an Vniuersity in *Dublin*, for the advancement of learning, neuer till that time set on foote (and that by this Deputies vrging) though long time before projected; and in King *Edward* the sixt time intended; So soone as the mists of Ignorance (the mother of Popish deuotion) was by the shining reformation of Religion dispierced; and most especially requisite in that Kingdome, as a chiefe spring and fountaine of ciuility.

Amnestia, or
the act of Oblivion,

(His authority thus shewed:) He fell with them in Councell, touching the affaires of that Kingdome; both as it was given him in charge, and as they were presented to the viewe of his owne experient iudgement; wherein he spent eighteene dayes, after which consultation, hee fell to shewe the fruites of Councell, in setting downe acts and decrees for the good of her Maiesties service and Kingdome, amongst which, was *Amnestia*, or the act of Oblivion, according to the institution of the ancient and excellent Law-giuers, the Lacedemonians, being in the nature of a generall pardon

pardon for offences past, which was both a mercifull, and a politike provision, to keepe Transgressours from despair, the ready mean to enduce them to the increase of mischief, but being reduced to obedience by this act of clemencie, and so settled in security. It was most probable and likely, that they who had lately felt the smart of raging and wantfull warre, would now kisse peace, and embrace it with a firmer constancy.

At the same time he sent into *England*, the sonne of the late Earle of *Desmond*, being but young (and yet held dangerous hee should be bred in that Kingdome, where practise might worke his escape, and little meanes was to yeeld him a meete breeding) with request for his carefull education here, that Religion and civility might after leade him to the performance of those duties, wherein (through barbarisme) his Predecessours had erred and transgressed.

Then like a good Gouvernour, that would abandon ease, the mother of error and corruption, he left *Dublin*, the seat of State, to settle the remote parts and Prouinces of *Munster* and *Connaught*, vnder their Gouvernours, newly sent ouer, General *Norris*, Lord President of *Munster*, and Captaine *Richard Bingham* chiefe Commissioner of *Connaught*, in whose choise this Lord Députy (as I have heard) had a great hand, iudging them meete

men

The Lord Députy
progresse into
Connaught &
Munster.

men both for the managing of warre, and con-
 servation of peace: So much did their valour,
 iudgement, and experience promise for them;
 who had at that time gained the reputation of
 the two most able Captaines of our Nation,
 wherein his wife doine, or fortune, did appeare
 the greater: when by such means his directi-
 ons should not onely be skillfully performed,
 but himselfe eased of that care and feare, a
 Chiefe is subiect to, when his substitutes be
 weake: especially such principall Gover-
 nours, as haue power to answer suddaine oc-
 casions upon their owne discretions; but how
 sufficient so euer they were, as his authority
 was to gouerne them, so he thought it his part
 to guide them by the example of his owne
 worke, purposing in those Provinces to heare
 complaints, to redresse abuses, to decide con-
 trouersies, and to appease dissensions and
 quarrels, betweene Lords of Countreies, and
 men of Ability, and speciall quality; whose
 discords and controuersies had vsually drawne
 them into vnwarrantable actions, and many
 times enforced the Prince, both to the hazard
 and losse of the good Subiects, and to the ex-
 pence of Treasure, to bring an Army to ap-
 pease their quarrels: as in the contention be-
 tweene *Desmond* and *Ormonde* had lately falne
 out, and that which is most dangerous in that
 Kingdome: It hath alwayes beene found, that
 Rebellion hath beene the Successour of pri-
 uate

uate quarrels : Mischiefe like ambition, cly-
 ming to the highest places. For these ends
 and purposes, the Deputy tooke his journey
 from *Dublin*, the thirteenth day of Iuly, at-
 tended on by diuers persons of account in that
 State, and came to *Malingarre*, the 16. of the
 same moneth, where to preuent discovery of
 such intelligence, as should passe betweene
 him and the Councell at *Dublin*, by the inter-
 ception of his or their Letters: Hee deuised
 and sent thence to the Lord Chancellour, and
 Sir *Henry Wallop* the Treasurer (the late Iustices,
 and now by him authorisef for the di-
 spatch of the affaires of the State in his ab-
 sence) certaine ciphers, and figures, framed
 after an Alphabet, importing the names of
 some of the chiefe persons and places in
England and *Ireland*, which deuise for secre-
 cie was most necessarie in that Kingdome,
 where the people are very inquisitiue, and in
 the succeeding Warre, were apt to giue dis-
 couery to the Rebelle, as well for Religions
 sake, as to gaine fauour vpon his Incurfions.
 The want of this course had like to haue ope-
 ned to the Rebelle, the last and greatest intenti-
 on of the Lord *Burgh* against them, by the
 interception of his last Letter to the State:
 opened and coppied by a Captaine, trusted
 with the conueyance thereof, and by him cer-
 tified to the Traytor *Tyrone*, but in the way
 intercepted by the Marshal, Sir *Henry Bagnall*.

The Deputyes
 Alphabetically
 deuise of se-
 crecie.

The original of these Cyphers are yet to bee
 scene, with the worthy Sonne of that most
 worthy Father, Sir *Henry Wallop*; of whom,
 since my heart vpon good knowledge of him
 guides my Pen: I craue pardon for digressing
 from my matter now in hand, to speake a
 word of him. He was of an auncient family,
 and an Inheritour of a faire fortune, which he
 managed with so much prouidence, as it be-
 ing seconded by a well knowne wisdom; hee
 was Elected to this place of Vice-Treasu-
 rer, and Treasurer at Warres in *Ireland*;
 which, as I haue often credibly heard, he was
 vnwilling to accept of, (not because the place
 was in the Market at a price to be had, accord-
 ing to the Custome of *France*, but freely dis-
 posed, as all Offices were by that glorious
 Queene, who well vnderstood, that he which
 buyes deare, must sell at the same rate; by
 which meanes the poore Subject (whose
 weale lay next her heart) must suffer inconue-
 nience:) but out of feare, that treasure which
 corrupts most men, might doe no lesse to him.
 This place hee discharged many yeares with
 so cleane hands, and so vpright a heart, as hee
 added not to his fortune any matter of mo-
 ment, but at his death was found vpon an euen
 ground: neither in debt to the Queene, nor
 to be charged with any gratuity from Officer,
 Captaine, or other in that Kingdome, and car-
 ried this report to his graue: that neuer Treasur-
 er

surer so wise and prouident enioyed so long, and reaped so little benefit by so beneficiall a place, and dyed without the Taynt of corruption, either in that Office or any other, which hee held by the fauour of the State in that Kingdome.

The Lord Deputy hauing performed this, with many other things of importance : set forwards on his iourney into *Connaught*, where hee dealt with the chiefe Lords, to change their custome of strife and controuersie (at this time frequent) into amity and friendship, (Charity breeding Piety, and both establishing ciuility) as the Earles of *Thomond* and *Glancrichard*, the Lord *Bremigham*, the Burghs of *Ester Connaught*, the *Okelleis*, *Oconnor Roe*, *Oconnor Dan*, *Oconnor Sligo*, *Mac-William Eugbier*, *Aturtho-ne-doe-Oflarty*. The *Oneales*, *MacTrenor*, *Mac Mahond*, *Mac Enispee*, both the *Mac Nemurroes*, the two *Mac Mahones*, and all the Chiefes of *Connaught* and *Thomond*: that both they, and the meaner Subiect, might be preserued in peace, without priuate wrongs, for assurance of their loyalties, and the readier payment of their compositions: He put to death *Dannogh Beg Obryan*, (a bloody murtherer, and spoyler of the good Subiect) with fixe of his accomplices. This naughty person shewed as much resolution in suffering death, as before he had manifested cruelly in his bloody actions, which did

Sheweth that
Dannogh Beg
Obryan was
put to death.

Dannogh Beg
Obryan
put to death.

argue the goodnesse of the service in cutting him so timely off: for he that wants remorse of conscience at the time of his death, is in his soule delighted in doing mischief.

The practise
of *Surleboys*
inuating *Fl-*
ster, discou-
red.

Hee passed on to *Limbrick*, in the Prouince of *Mounster*, where hee received intelligence from the Baron of *Danganon*, *Sir Nicholas Bagnall* the Marshall, (Captaine *Mince* then lying in *Odonnell's* Country, and others, of the approach of a Thousand Scottish *Islanders*, called *Redshankes*, being of the *Septs* or Families of the *Cambiles*, *Macconnells*, and *Macgalanes*, drawne to inuade *Flster* by *Surleboys*, one of that Nation, who had vsurped, and by power and strong hand possessed himselfe of the *Marguillies*, and other mens Lands in *Flster*, called the *Glimes* and the *Roster*: meaning to hold that by force, which hee had gotten without right, by violence, fraud, and iniurie. The Deputy at the same time receiued priuate notice, of a Messenger sent from the *Irish* of *Flster*, to stirre vp the Lords and Chiefes of *Mounster* and *Connaught*, to ioyne with them in Rebellion, for whom he caused wayte to be layde, and had him apprehended, and brought to himselfe; who vpon examination, after some deniall, confessed that hee was *Tirlagh Loynagh*, then called *Omeales* fosterer, and by him employed to procure those people to ioyne in Rebellion with him, and his Accomplises, according to a former combination made.

Tirlagh Loynagh
fosterer
taken,

made before his Lordshippes arrivall in that Kingdome, when it was destitute of an understanding Commander, or such a Garrison of Souldiers as was fit to answer such an occasion: (hereby expressing the condition of that people: to watch all opportunity to deliver themselves from the yoke of the *English* government,) and hee confessed withall, that now having moved the Lord *Fitzmarcke*, and some other Lords of *Manxter*, to enter into the promised Insurrection: he was answered by them, that since Sir *John Perrot* (who all that Country knew, and esteemed to be a just man) was arrived and made Deputy, none of them would sticke so long, as he and the Earle of *Ormonde* continued in that Kingdome; so as the cause, which makes the *English* government heavy to that people, plainly appears to be, the corruption of our Gouvernours; else had not Sir *John Perrot* (whose sincerity was knowne to them) had more power to containe them in obedience, then another of his Country and quality should have had; & in the processe of this Story it will likewise appear, that *Oneale* himselfe was wonn to loyalty, and a peaceable subiection, merely by the justice of this Deputy: when hee came once to be knowne amongst them of the North. Neverthelessse, the newes of the Preparation in *Wisser*, and the danger of a discent of the *Scottish* Islanders there, being by the Deputy wel weighed,

The opinion of the Deputies Justice kept the Lord *Fitzmarcke* and others from Rebellion.

The Deputies returne to prevent the Islanders,

broke off his farther proceedings in that Province, and called him backe; to the prevention of the same; leaving this Province secured by taking Pledges of all suspected persons, and constituting in each County, trusty and able Gouvernours, to keepe the people in obedience, if any stirre should happen in his absence; taking the President of *Munster* (who was desirous to accompany him) along with him to the Northerne Expedition, and appointing such as he suspected, to attend him to *Dublin*; ordaining in his absence the County of *Cork* to be governed, by the Iustices *Walshe* and *Miagh*; The Sheriffe *Sir William Stanley*; the Lords *Batry* and *Roch*; the County of *Limerick* to the Præposit Marshall; the County of *Desmond* to the Earle of *Clancathie*; *Sir Owen Osmillan*, and *Osmillan More*. The County of *Kerry* to the Sheriffe, and the Lord *Fitz-Morris*, with others, whose pledges hee tooke with him. The Liberty and County of *Tipperary* (whose Iurisdiction was by Charter challenged to belong to the Earle of *Ormonde*) he left as he found it to the auncient course of gouernment, vnder *Thomas* the then Earle, a man of singular wisdom and loyalty, and by her Maiestie highly fauoured. This Earle first met him in *Cannagh* with *Mac Morris*, *Osmillan More*, the Knight of *Kerry*, and certaine Septs of the *Gallaglasses*, who accompanied him to *Limerick*, where there came vnto him

The Countie of
Cork to be
governed by
the Iustices
Walshe and
Miagh
The County of
Limerick to
the Marshall
The County of
Desmond to
the Earle of
Clancathie
The County of
Kerry to the
Sheriffe
The Liberty
and County of
Tipperary

The Countie of
Cork to be
governed by
the Iustices
Walshe and
Miagh
The County of
Limerick to
the Marshall
The County of
Desmond to
the Earle of
Clancathie
The County of
Kerry to the
Sheriffe
The Liberty
and County of
Tipperary

broke

3

him

him all the principall persons of that Province, saving the chiefe of the County of *Cork*, as the Lords *Barry* and *Roche*, *Sir Owen Mac-Carthie*, and others, who did accompany their Sheriffe *Sir William Stanley*, provided to entertaine him, and present themselves vpon the Confines of their owne County: but were preuented by the Nontherne newes already mentioned, the Deputy having changed his purpose of visiting those parts.

In this passage thorow *Cannagh*, *Malachias Amalone*, brother to *Mac William English* (who had long beene a Fryar) was brought vnto him, and by him with private consultation, and dispute, made to vnderstand his error: Hee publicquely, and before a great Assembly did renounce the Pope and Romish Religion, gaue ouer his order and habit, and made his Recantation by professing himselfe a Protestant, and conformable to the Religion established in her Maiesties Dominions.

With these courses of Providence, Iustice, ending of Controuersies, and taking security for the preservation of future Peace: the people generally seemed to be well pleased and satisfied; but in nothing more, then with the correction of the Sheriffes corruptions, and limiting them to a small number of followers, who had formerly vsed with Multitudes to trauaile and Cesse, vnder colour of Service, to the grievous oppression of the Country: so as
mixing

mixing the peoples ease from exaction, with their reformation, they gladly yielded to the hardest conditions, that colde bee desired to keepe them in obedience and due subiection.

Order taken
with the heads
of *Lemster* for
the certainty
of their obedi-
ence,

These parts being left to the care of the Iustices, and other selected Commissioners: The Deputy retired with as much celerity as hee could towards *Dublin*, and in his way as hee passed through *Leix*, hee tooke Pledges of *Fiagh Mac Hugh*, (the Fierbrand of the Mountaine, betweene *Dublin* and *Wexford*) which were his Sonne and Uncle, and for the rest of his Sept, the *Oghys*, and *O'Tooles*: Sir *Henry Harrington*, the Captaine and Commaunder of that Countrey, was appointed to receive the like. The two brethren of the *O'connors*, who used to be followed with great troupes of Savage and idle people, doing and threatening mischief to the Queene and Kings Countie, and the parts adjoining: submitted themselves there to the Deputy, and were by him reduced to a more orderly course: by putting away their idle men, and bringing their Sept and followers into a smaller proportion, according to their quality. After the death of *James Mure*, alias *Mugh*, the *Mares* who challenge dominion in *Leix*, were divided into two or three Septs: them the Deputy caused to render Pledges for their Loyalties, as the *O'connors* had done. The *Connaghts* not being ready with their Pledges,

Pledges, (who are the bordering busie men of the Counties of *Wexford*, *Casherlogh*, and *Kildare*) were respited to performe the same to Sir *Henry Wallap*, Sir *Nicholas Watsh*, and other Commissioners appointed for the suruaying the Forts of *Mary Burgh*, and *Philips Towne*. *Philips Towne*, and the Kings County was assigned to the commaund of Sir *George Bourcier*; and *Mary Burgh* with the *Queenes County*, to Captaine *Warham St. Leger*, which Forts were built, and Counties so named in *Queene Mariestime*, by the Earle of *Sussex* then Lieutenant of *Ireland*, before begun by *Edward Bollingham*, being otherwise called *Leix* and *Ophaly*; these being the first Counties that had beene in this Kingdome since King *Johns* Reigne, at what time the twelue first Shires were established: which enlarging of the *English Plantation*, was a Seruice of very great moment; those two *Irish Septs* of *Mares* and *Oconnors*, possessing these two Countreies, being the most powerfull Rebels of *Leinster* at that time, and by this good Earle and his Predecessour happily brought vnder.

The *Orealies* (as wel Sir *John as Philip*) being then in controuersie; were thence summoned by the Lord Deputy, to repaire to him at *Dublin*, which shortly after they performed, and submitted their cause to his order, who appeased their controuersie by setting an indifferent course betweene them to both their lykings.

The Forts of *Mary-Burgh* and *Philips Towne*, built by the Earle of *Sussex*.

The King and *Queens Countreies* diuided by the Earle of *Sussex*.

Having secured all the Western parts in the manner as is declared (which was certified vnto *England* by those of the Prinie Councell that attended him in this journey) he repaired to *Dublin* vpon the 9. day of August, hauing bin absent a moneth wanting two daies, where he remained sixteene dayes, to make prouision of conuenient power and meanes for his Northerne iourney, for to resist the Inuasion of the *Scottish* Ilanders, whereof his intelligence did dayly encrease, and to suppress the rebellious purpose of the *Wlster* Confederates, making the greater hast to keepe them from vniting. His force which hee could on such a suddaine make, was the Earle of *Ormand* and his Rising out, The Earle of *Thomond* and his: From *Mounster* the Lord *Barrys* his Rising out, sent by his brother: The Lord *Roche* and *Fitz Gibon*, called the white Knight, with theirs: The rising out of the County of *Kildare*. The Lord of *Trimelstowne*, with the rising out of *Meathe*, The Vice-Count *Gormanstowne*, and the Lord of *Heathe*, with other rising out of the *English* Pale, being such of the olde *English* discent, as were tyed by their tenures and custome of Seruice, to leauy certaine Horse and Foote, called *Risings* out; to attend the Deputy or chiefe Gouvernour for a time, without the Princes charge, in all Seruices of importance, when hee went himselfe in person. To these were added ten *English* Companies of Foote,

The Army
see the North.

Foote, of one hundred in each Company, vnder the Command.

1 Sir *Henry Wallops* Company commanded by his *Lieutenant*.

2 Captaine *Rees ap Hugh*, the Prouest Marshall.

3 Captaine *Thomas Lea*.

4 Captaine *Bethell*.

5 Captaine *Randal Brewerton*.

6 Captaine *Merryman*.

7 Captaine *Mince*.

8 Captaine *Parker*.

9 Captaine *Collum*.

10 Captaine *Bangor*.

These Companies *Risings* out, and some halfe Companies of *Kerne* brought by particular *Irish* Lords being ready; The Deputy accompanied with the afore-named Lords, Generall *Norreys*, Lord President of *Monaster*, Sir *Nicholas Bagnall*, then Marshall of *Ireland*; Captaine *Iaques Wingfield*, then Master of the Ordnance. Sir *George Bouchier*, Sir *William Stanley*, Mr. *Thomas Norreys*, Sir *Henry Harrington*, all *Gouernours*, Commanders, and most of them ancient Captaines, well experienced; with him likewise went Sir *Robert Dillon* chief Iustice of the Common Pleas, Sir *Lucas Dillon* chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, Sir *Nicholas White* Master of the Rolls, Master *Jeffrey Fenton* Secretary of the State, Master *Henry Bagnall*, Sir *Edward Denny*, Sir *John Tyr-*

*Tirlagh Ley-
nagh's first
coming to
the Deputy.*

*The heads of
Vlster come to
the Deputy
vpon his word*

rell of *Farrallagh*, Master *Dudleigh Bagnall*,
Sir *Henry Cooley*, Sir *Thomas More*, Sir *Anthony*
Brubanson, *Warham Saint Leger*, *Henry Warren*,
and *William Warren* his brother, set forwards
from *Dublin* the five and twenty day of Au-
gust, and came to the *Newry* the 29. thereof,
where within a mile of the Towne met him
Tirlagh Leynagh, the chiefe man of *Vlster*,
whose rebellious spirit (as well by the report
was giuen of the Deputies Iustice and sinceri-
ty, as the aduise of his *Mounster* friends) being
quieted, he presented himselfe to the Deputies
sauiour, without either pardon or protection
for his late seditious Conspiracie, wherin the
Deputy entertained with a louing but graue
countenance, accepted his submission and pro-
mise to the State of duty and obedience; for
the performance whereof, he willingly put in
Pledges. During his stay and abode here;
there came vnto him vpon his commandement
and word of safety, *Magenize*, *Mac Mahone*,
Tirlagh Braselagh, and the *Irish* Captaines and
Commanders of the *Phews*, *Farry*, *Clancarrow*,
Kilwarlen, *Killulagh*, and those of *Clanyboys*
side, and others the chiefe borderers, from
whom appointing Pledges to be taken; he as-
sured their Countries. So as no doubt of In-
surrection behinde him could happen, when
he should be aduanced to the Enemy and Re-
bels abroad. From whence hee marched for-
wards with his Forces towards *Surlibays*, and
his

his Inuading *Ilanders*, who hearing of his approach, with more power and speede then they expected (celerity being the onely advantage to a Commaunder, and the greatest dismay to an vnresolved Enemy) were much appalled; withall vnderstanding, that the Deputy had sent Shipping to surprise their Gallies lying at *Laghfoyle*, as hee had secured the whole Country, those men attending him with their Forces, whom they expected to be their partakers: So as their hoped for friends were now become their assured Enemies. They made a quick retreat to *Laghfoyle*, and escaped away in their Gallies before the approach of the Shipping, whp came ere they were passed *Kenne*: So as for a while they gaue chase to them, though to no purpose. This vnhappy escape of the *Ilanders*, was imputed to the negligence of the Sea Commanders, the Deputy hauing provided against it, sending the Shipps in good time, fore-seeing what these barbarous Sauiages were likely to doe vpon his approach; but it was excused by the suddaine springing of a leake, which enforced their stay till it was mended. These fugitiues by this aduance being escaped, made the danger of *Sarlaboyes* Confederacie seeme small. Neuerthelesse, as well to answer her Maiesties charge, as to punish the Animatours of this Inuasion, *Sarlaboye*, *Ocane*, *Bryan Carragh*, and others, standing yet vpon ill terms,

The retreat of the *Scots* to *Laghfoyle*, and their escape thence.

The Deputy
deuides his
Army.

The Baron of
Dongan
insinuating
with Generall
Norrey.

encouraged by the strength of their fastnesse,
and their hope to hold out, till the approach
of vnseasonable weather, (Winter hastening
on.) The Deputy proceeded on to the River
of *Bande*, where hee diuided his Force into
two parts, to pursue them vpon both sides
of the River. Himselfe, with the Earle of
Ormond, and the rest of the Nobility, kept
the side of *Claniboy*, the other part of the Ar-
my hee put vnder the Conduct of Generall
Norrey, which (notwithstanding his great
Command ouer great Armies in the *Low*
Countries, where he had achieved famous Vi-
stories) heooke no skorne of; willing to
expresse his readinesse to serue his Prince, and
Countrie in any kinde, who accompanied
with the Baron of *Dongan*, kept vpon *Ty-*
rons side: Where this wyly Serpent *Donga-*
nan so behaued himselfe to this braue hearted
Norrey; as it bredd such an affection, that
after was the cause (through the treache-
rous Nature of this Rebelle) of much mis-
chiefe to the State, and dishonour to the ne-
uer enough praysed *Norrey*; such force hath
fawning seruitury; oftentimes to catch hold
of a Noble Nature, and indeed so great was
the witt of this fatall Villany, as to diue in-
to, and apply himselfe satisfactorily vnto
all dispositions, and to change himselfe
like *Proteus* into all shapies, that might bring
aduantage to his Treasons, hatched with him
in

in his Cradle. The Deputy spoyled *Bryan Caranahs* Countrey, and forced him, and *Surleboy*, to fly into *Glancon-Kene* with their *Criaghts* and *Cowes*, which is the strongest and greatest fastnesse in the North. Generall *Norrey*s ouerslipping *Surleboy*, fell vpon *Ochane* and tooke from him a Prey of two hundred *Cowes*, which gaue the Soldier good reliefe; but a hundred Horse-boyes and Lacqueis, belonging to his Troopes, Scauaging abroad, and ranging loosely, as their manner is; being carelesse of a flying enemy, were cut in pieces by *Bryan Caranahs* men. Vpon this their stragling, through their cry, when the Rebell light vpon them, some of the Forces flew into their reskue. Where *Iaques*, Sir *William Stanleys* Lieutenant, was hurt with a Skottish Arrow, and *Owenion*, the Baron of *Danganons* Lieutenant likewise. Thus Boyes follicies sometimes procure mens harmes, but if these two had then lost their lines, the losse had beene small, if not gaine, they after proouing bad members to their Countrey. Vpon the reuolt of Sir *William Stanley* in the Low-Countries, and in the late and great Rebellion of *Tyrone*, wherein *Owenion* was a principall Firebrand. At this time Master *Thomas Norreys* was hurt in the knee with an Arrow, and Master *Oliver Lambart*, then a private man, but since, a speciall Commander, was taken Prisoner in *Ochane*s Countrey.

The Preying
of *Ochane* by
Generall *Nor-*
reys.

Bryan Ca-
ranahs falling
vpon the
Horse-Boyes.

Master *Tho-*
mas Norreys
hurt, and *Ma-*
Lambart ta-
ken prisoner.

Captain *Nor-*
rymans prey-
ing the Rebels

Generall *Nor-*
rys preying
Bryan Caragh

Ochames sub-
mission.

Surleyboys pro-
secuted by Ge-
nerall *Nor-*
rys

Captaine *Norryman* the day before brought a prey of Cowes out of the Rebels fastnesse vnto the Deputies Campe. The day after Generall *Norrys* hauing passed the great woodles of *Glancan Kene*, preyed *Bryan Caragh's* country at the bottome of the *Glimes* and slew them that were put to defend them.

Ochame finding his Country harrowed, & his men destroyed, and himselfe straightly pursued, sued for mercy, and obtayned it: where-vpon his submission and putting in pledges he receaued a graue but sharpe admonition from the Deputy, being the first pardoned man, that had committed acte of hostillity, since his comming to the gouernement; where the reproofe was notso great to *Ochame*, as it was a lesson to the standers-by, who might in time prooue little better affected to the State, then he had bin.

Surleyboys flying the Lord Deputies side, betooke himselfe into his strong fastnesse which he trusted to, but the Deputy desirous to bring him into a straight, sent ouer more Horse and Foote, with most of the *Kerne* from his owne side, to Generall *Norris*; conceiuing that hee by deuiding his force (with such draughts as might be made by espialls) might doe good Service vpon this fugitiue, by forcing him into such extremity as hee should not escape without death, or yeelding.

In the meane time himselfe, with the rest
of

of his Force, besieged the strong Castle of *Don Luce*, which though but a small Pile, yet in respect of the Seate, is one of the most impregnable Castles of that Ringdome, being scituated vpon a Rocke hanging ouer the Sea, and deuided from the Marine with a narrow neck of Land or Rocke, not aboue foure foote broad, and fifty foote long, the depths of each side being at the least ten fathome. The Castle it selfe commanding the passage, is seated vpon a hard Rock, which hath in it Caues as it were Sellers, which would secure the guard, though the Castle were battered and beaten downe: Here was at this time a strong Ward commanded by a *Scottish* Capitaine, who being summoned to deliuer vp the Castle to the Queene, resolutely denied; protesting to defend it to the last man, whereupon the Deputy, hoping the terrour of the Canon might dismay the Ward (for other hope hee had not to win so strong a place) drew his Forces nearer, & planted his Artillary (being two Culuerings and two Sakers) for battery. This Ordnance was brought by Sea from *Dublin* to *Skerreys Portrush*, and thence being two miles, was drawne by mens hands (through want of other meanes) to this place. The Ward of the Castle played thicke with their small Shot vpon the Souldiers, that made the approach, much to the discouragement of the workemen, and impeachment of the worke, being

Don Luce besieged,

A worthy part
of a Deputy.

Parley with
the Castle of
Don Luis.

within Musket shot. The Deputy seeing the Souldiers shrink, commaunded some of his owne seruants to supply the places of them that were fearefull, to fill the Gabions, and make good the ground, himselfe encouraging both them, and the rest by giuing not onely his presence, but his hand to the worke; by which meanes the Ordnance was planted, & the blinders set vp, the Canoniere beginning to play, which at first did little annoy the Castle or the Ward therein; but within a little time the Pile began to shake through continuance, and the discharging at once of the Artillery. Then the courages of the Ward (vnused to the defence of such places) began to quail, inso-much as the next morning a Parley is demaunded, and conditions propounded; leave to depart with bagge and baggage, is by the Deputy granted; as well to take time while the feare lasted, to prevent such resolution, as despaire, & a better consideration of the strength of the place might yeeld them; as to saue the charge of reedifying the Castle, which he intended to keepe for the Queene, being a place of no small importance. Besides, the small prouision was then in the Armie, not easily supplied in that place in a short time, by which meanes other intended seruice of no lesse (if not more) importance might be hindred, was another motiue of sauing time and charge, which had bin spent, if the Captaine had continued

tinued in his first resolution, and peradventure without successe to the Deputy, who stood in doubt of the losse of many men in the assault through the difficulty of the entry, as is before mentioned, howsoever it would assuredly have cost more time then had stood with the conueniency of the Service.

Surrender of
the Castle of
Don Lucy.

After surrender of this place, and a Ward there established, he tooke in the Fort of *Don-fret*, (the Ward hauing quitted it before) and another Castle or Pile neare *Portrush*. All *Surleboys* Loghs and Ilands were left without defence, so as hee had no place of strength within the mayne to flye vnto, but the woods. The *Ranglings* being the chiefeest refuge for the inuading Ilanders to make their abode in, as the vsuall Rendezous where they consulted vpon the course of their Inuasion. *Surleboys* thus beaten from his holdes, Iudging no continuance of safety to be in his flight, sued at length for mercy, as all the rest of his Confederates had done, which in after time, through the necessity of the season, and the want of provision, the Deputy much against his minde granted, well waighing what good Service it would haue beene, vtrerly to haue extirped the nest of these greedy vultures, but necessity oftentimes ouer-rules iudgement.

The taking of
Don-Fret, and
another Castle

Submission of
Surleboys.

During the Deputies abode here, *Odonnell* the principal Lord of *Tirconnell*, and *Sir Owen O Toole* came, and presented themselves vnto

Odonnell and
Sir Owen O-
Toole come to
the Deputy.

The Deputy
brings the
wilde Irish to
the use of law.

The begin-
ning of the
composition
of *Uster*.

him. There *Tirlogh Lennagh*, and the other chiefe Lords of *Uster* submitted their differences and Controuersies vnto his Order, whom hee caused to impleade each other by bill and answer, in a legall manner; an vnusuall course to them who had beene euer accustomed to try all by the strength of the sword, which mischiefe had euer kept that Country in barbarisme. He ministred an oath of Alleageance, and the obseruation of her Maiesties peace vnto them, which they by his perswasion willingly accepted. Hee drew them to a composition proportionably, to finde the Queene a certaine number of Souldiers in Garison, to whose charge she should contribute onely 250. pound a yeare, to euery Company of a hundred, for their maintainance; and the rest should bee payd by the Country in this manner.

Tirlogh Leynagh (who stiled himself *Owealey* for him and the rest, whom hee claymed to be vnder him, as *Ochane* and *Macguire* should giue allowance to fise hundred Souldiers, with the addition mentioned; *Odonnell* and his followers should doe the like to 200, *Macguilly* and his followers to 100 Foote, and 25 Horse.

Submission of
the Lady *Cambell*
& others,

Before the Deputies departure hence, the Lady *Cambell*, *Donnell*, *Grome*, and *Owealey* wifes sonne, came and tendered their submission, whom hee receiued into pardon and protection; and passed vnto them, her Maiesties promised

promised grant; procured by his mother, for so much of the *Glimes* as were sometime *Masfets* Lands, for which he should pay yearly 50 Beefes, and finde vpon his charge 80 Souldiers to serue in any part of *Ulster*, at the Gouvernours commaund.

The Deputy preuented from passing further into the *Rangblings* as he intended, for the viter rooting out of *Surleboys*, by the approach of Winter, and want of victuall; the one vsually making the passages difficult, by the riuers rising vpon the fall of raine, and the winde and weather hindring the others arriual, which had beene long since shipped at *Dublin*; so as now victuall was very scant in the Armie, hee determined of his retorne homewards, hauing happily begun, and hopefully proceeded in this reformation of the North. At which time fell a suddaine and dangerous storme, by which the Rivers grew great and likely to proue worse, which enforced him to speede his retreat, not willing to giue aduantage to a perfidious people, but would rather leaue to another time, the perfection & finishing of this work, which he had moulded in his iudgement for the future securing of this quarter, and dispossessing these fugitiues that had crept and intruded into it: But necessity, which controules great actions, and ouer-masters the best resolutions, gaue an after-stop to his proceedings therein, as in the sequell will appeare.

Retreate of
the Deputy
homewards.

The Deputy hauing settled thus much for the establishing of peace: encrease of reue-
new, and force for the Prince in *Ulster*, where
nothing but Reuolts and Rebellions had here-
tofore beene practised, and now threatned,
and begun with a strong combination; likely
to haue taken deeper rooting, and to haue
spread it selfe into other parts of that long in-
fected turbulent State, if his wisdom, indu-
stry, and celerity had not preuented it. Now
begins to draw homeward towards the *Newry*,
but before his rising thence, considering it the
fittest and best meanes to secure that Country:
he planted Garrisons in all conuenient places.
He sent foure Companies of Foote into *Tir-
logh Heynaugh's* Country, vnder the leading of
Captaine *Merryman, Parker, Banger, and Col-
lum*, to continue all the Winter: He assigned
two hundred foote, and fifty horse of the olde
Bands vnder Captaine *Carleyle*, to lye at *Col-
racn*, to prevent both Insurrection within, and
Inuasion from the Ilands abroad. This done,
he came to the *Newry* the 28. day of Septem-
ber, where he remained ten dayes in pursuing
and perfecting the courses begun. Whether
Tirlogh Leynaugh (according to his Lordships
direction and appointment) brought *Henry
Onale* the sonne of *Shane Onale*, *Tirloghs* pre-
decessour in the thievery of *Ulster*, who had
escaped from Sir *Henry Sidney* before, and
sometimes held by *Tirlogh* as a prisoner, to
preuent

The Deputy
plants Garri-
sons in the
North.

The Deputies
comming to
the *Newry*,
where all the
Lords of *Ul-
ster* present
themselves,
and conclude
the Commis-
sion.

preuent his clayme to his Fathers place of *O-neale*.

Thither came also the rest of the Lords ad-
ioyning; as Sir *Hugh Macquenniz*, *Mac Ma-*
bone, *Ohanlone*, *Tirlogh Braslagh*, *Mac Car-*
then; the chieftaines of the *Ferney*, *Phues*,
Kilultraugh, *Kilwarlen*, and others, who all
willingly tooke an oath of faith and fidelity
to the *Queene*, and to serue her against all
men, and for their performance of the same,
deliuered to the *Deputy* such Pledges as hee
demanded, and granted to such composition
for the maintenance of the Army, as *Omale*,
Odwel, and *Macquilly* had formerly done:
Hugh Oge, and *Shane Mac Bryan* for the nea-
ther *Clanboy* allowed eightie men, Sir *Hugh*
Macquenniz for the County of *Enagh* four-
ty, The Commander of *Kilultraugh* fiftene,
of *Kilwarlene* tenne, *Mac Carthen* ten.

This composition for the maintenance of
a Garrison by the Countrey, mounting in
all to 1100. (as it was a Seruice of no small
importance, and before it was effected, op-
posed by the Councell through their opini-
on of the difficultie) receiued great applause
and commendation even of those that ma-
ligned his successe in any thing, and did ad-
mire that *Ylster*, which for many yeares to-
gether could scarcely endure the Scepter of
Iustice or Gouvernement, should bee now re-
duced to such obedience: as to contribute to
the

the maintenance of their owne yoke; but doubtlesse it was a worke of great danger in the attempt, and of great consequence being achieued; wherein much was to be attributed to the Deputies person that gave his perswasion, grace with the people; so as Maiestie, Hauiour, and Comelinesse, are most necessarie qualities in the wisest Gouvernour of a barbarous Nation.

Grudging betweene the
Gouvernours
of *Visiter* ap-
pealed.

Heart-burnings bred by questions for superiority and government betweene *Tirlagh Leynaugh* called *Oneale*, The Baron of *Dunaganon*, and Sir *Nicholas Bagnall*, who did ouer-look them both, (and thereupon as much enuiued of them, as they did maligne one another) the Deputy tooke care to appease (though it be difficult to reconcile grudges, growing for government and dominion.)

Hee deuided the greater governments into smaller, that no one should be too strong for another, and yet each should haue sufficient, if not to satisfie himselfe; yet to ballance the ouer-growing greatnesse of his neighbour: but indeede his chiefeſt ayme was to extinguish the greatnesse of *Oneale*, which name being by the barbarous people of that whole Prouince had in so great adoration, as neither the law formerly made in Sir *Henry Sidney's* time, (a most worthy Gouvernour,) nor any iniunction of State could abolish, what time and ignorance had so established. Withall to suppress

suppresse his clayme to the *Tirlaghs*, and petty Lords, second chiefe men vnto him, whom he stiled his vassalls, and sometime vsed them as his Slaues, when hee had power to preuaile eyther ouer them, or against the State, whereby they becam instruments to aduance his supposed greatnes, many times to his ruine and their own, not without much trouble & charge to the State. The Deputy therefore deuided the Prouince into three Lieutenancies: one he assigned vnto *Tirlagh Lennagh*, as much as was already vnder his rule. The other two he parted between the Baron of *Donganon*, & Sir *Nicholas Bagnall*, then Marshall of Ireland.

Deuision of
the North in-
to gouern-
ments.

Nor did hee neglect to appease and reconcile the differences of meaner Lords, as of the *Claniboyes*, to all which Countrey *Con mac Neale Oge* (by the olde and corrupt custome of *Taneystry*) claymed to be Gouvernor: And *Shane Mac Bryan* and *Hugh Oge*, straue for the dominion of the neather *Claniboy*, and could not agree of their portions, opposing the generall and striuing in their owne particular. This the Deputy (through priuate perswasion and counsell ioyned with authority) arbitrated betweene them, and concluded with their mutuall consent; that *Con O Neale* should hold the vpper *Claniboy*, and *Shane* and *Hugh*, the neather, to be equally deuided and bounded betweene them, by such Commissioners as hee had appointed thereunto.

Claniboy di-
uided.

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These

These courses were of more importance, then by some are conceived to be: for Possessours of great Territories, and Commanders of many people, being proud of their owne greatnesse, and enflamed with desire of Dominion; drawe many to follow them through the flames of commotion: And the lesser, especially the second sort, either consenting to be higher, or binding themselves to the will of their Superiours, that are able to command, runne headlong at their direction, and by consenting, or discenting in times of division, ioyne onely in the bad effects, to trouble the State, and to destroy or vex those that are best affected. *V*lster thus suddainly appeared, reuolting hearts partly pacified, and partly constrained to obedience; a composition of benefit to the Queene, and the Countries quietted. Private controuersies ended, or at the least, abated and qualified. The Deputy returneth to *Dublin* the eleventh of October, whence hee had bene absent three moneths and two dayes, and thence he gaue an account to the Lords of the Councell here, of these his proceedings; signifying by his Letters, his quick and speedy dispatch, of so many weighty & difficult businesse, by his trauaile through all the Prouinces of *Ireland*, in the space of five moneths; and might with *Cæsar* haue said, *Veni, vidi, vici*: and withall, that he had reformed what was amiss, established peace, and increa-

The Deputies
returne to
Dublin,

encreased the Princes power. This his relation was ratified by like Letters written by such of the Priuy Councell, as did accompanie him in these his iourneyes; wherein it is to be noted, that it was a wise part of the Deputy to cause his actions to be iustified by others, who were, Generall *Norreys*, Sir *Lucas Dillon*, Sir *Edward Waterhouse*, and Mr. *Jeffrey Fenton*. Some so iust, as they would enforme no vntruthes, and some vsing alwayes to depraue from the Gouvernours there: For the condition of our State, was rather to deminish the acts of the Deputy to her Maiestie, then to grace them by a true relation, least as his merit might challenge rewards; so the weight of his actions cast into the ballance of her discerning iudgement, might shew the lightnesse of their owne little doings.

Thus much to the indifferent: But most of our great men did not rellish Sir *John Perrots* stoutnesse, who stood vpon his owne feete onely without dependancy, vpon any of them, but the Queene alone, which made them enuious of all his good Seruices, but now their mouthes were stopped, her Maiestie being satisfied of the trueth by so indifferent Relators.

Now was it found time by the Deputy, to consult how these good beginnings might be prosecuted, and that which was done, might not be cuerted by the inconstancy of a wauc-

The Councells
report to the
Lords, of the
successe in
viffer.

The Deputy
writes for Sol-
diers to be sent
out of Eng-
land.

ring and yet vnbrideled people, who being brought by force onely to yeld to that which is good, will bee good no longer then while force constraines them, vntill their ignorance, how farre the good extends to their owne parricular, be taken away by their taste and feeling, which in an instant comes not to passe. Therefore to this end hee propounded to her Maiestie and Councell, that fixe hundred Souldiers might be sent ouer, whereof 400 to land at *Dublin*, for supply of the Northern Garrison, and two hundred to be sent to *Waterford*, to be placed in *Meunster*, all which should bee mixed with the olde Companies, and maintained by the charge of *Plister*, according to their composition, with small addition of payment from her Maiesties Treasure. He likewise propounded, that the large and vnbounded Countries of the North, and other parts, might be deuided into small Counties, for the better gouerning of the rude and vnruely people, who might learne ciuility, and know the lawes, and by that knowledge be brought to loue that, vnder which they did enioy their owne, whereof they were now ignorant.

The Deputy
offer, if 5000
pound might
be spared for
three yeares.

Hee offered farther, that if 5000 pound might be added to the reuenew of that Kingdome, but for three yeares to come, he would not onely therewith support the charge of the State: but wall seauen Townes, and build

build as many Bridges in places now scarce passable, (especially in the Winter) and erect so many strong Castles in places of perill: withall 2000 Foote, and 400 Horse, should bee maintained by this allowance, supplied by the Northerne composition, during the time.

This summe, though it seemed great, yet was lesse then her Maiestie many times was enforced to expend for the suppressing of a light Rebellion, and the preservation of her good Subiects, without any other fruit of reformation, or assurance of future Peace: So, as this charge (thus imployed) would not onely secure the whole Countrey for the present, but make other Service of importance more easie after to bee performed.

Hee added to these motions, others of consequence for execution of Iustice; (a chiefe meane to breede in the people awfull love and ciuility) as that a chiefe Iustice of *English* birth might bee sent ouer; such a one as for learning in the Law, and integrity, might bee a light, and guide vnto the rest: whereby the Courts and course of Iustice might bee reduced into order, now gouerned by such as (for the most part) were eyther insufficient in the knowledge of the Lawes, corrupt in Religion, or partiall in their affection, whom he wished might be changed

The Deputy
demands a
chiefe Iustice
out of *Eng-
land*.

into such as were free from these faulty offences.

That *Tanistry* might be abolished.

And that the bad and barbarous custome of *Tanistry* might be abolished, which custome (amongst the meere *Irish* onely is in vse) being that the Sonne doth not inherite his Fathers estate, but most commonly such a one is elected by the Countrey, in the life time of the Lord, as doth expresse by valour, and a stirring spirit the best ability, to leade the whole Sept in all their actions, which were most commonly such as were mischieuous to the State. Him so Elected, they called their *Tanist*, vpon which Election happened oftentimes murder and bloodshed, euen amongst the nearest of their kindred, besides other innumerable mischiefes. This euill and vnaturall custome the Deputy desired to abolish, thinking (as matter then stood) he had both power and opportunity to bring it to passe.

That charge of Tenures might be made.

Hee desired that hee might be enabled to passe estates vnto the *Irish*, according to the *English* tenure, vpon surrender of their former claymes, which would bring them to depend vpon the State, and loose them from the tyrannous yoke of their neere and great Lords, whereto the *Irish* seemed in his iudgement at this time forward and enclinable.

The Deputy demands reward for the deserving Soldier.

Hee concluded with requests for the rewarding, some principall Seruitors of that Realme, whom hee had found faithfull, and painfull

painfull furtherers of her Maiesties Service, as encouragements for others to doe the like.

To all these motions, both her Maiesty, and Councell, returneth faire answers, accepting and applauding his Seruices, giuing GOD thanks for his prosperity, and good successe therein, to the aduancement whereof promises of assistance were giuen; and in particular to his propositions, gaue this resolution.

Touching the composition made in *Wylster*, for the maintenance of the Garrison, it was well allowed, as a thing not onely tending to the reformation of that Prouince, but to the reduction of the rest of the Kingdome, with more facility to order, obedience, and ciuility: To the rest for the most part they did condiscend, or at the least gaue him such satisfaction therein, as might encourage his proceeding, concluding with praise and promise of reward. Which the *Queene* well knew were the best spurres, to set on so forward a spirit to enterprise nobly in her seruice.

A smooth letter from the Lords in *England*.

The next and principall of his cares, (indeede clayming the first place, and so was it seated in his heart) was to establish Religion, the true supporter of Peace, Obedience, and Fidelity, to which end Letters were addressed to the Bishops, and chiefe of the Clergie, especially of the *English* Pale, for the repairing and re-edifying of their decayed Churches, as a meane, the better to enduce the people vnto
Gods

The Deputy caused the Churches to be repaired,

Gods seruice, where they might bee taught their duties to God and their Prince.

The Deputy
against Bish-
ops in com-
mendam.

He wrote likewise into *England* against the granting of Bishopricks in *commendam*; shewing the inconueniencies that follow the heaping of many Lyuings into one hand: for the more sufficient men being imployed, the more encrease of Religion is likely; and on the contrary, the diminution of Teachers must needs hinder knowledge, and encrease ignorance.

In the second place; Aduice was taken, how to bring the rude and vnruely people, to bee plyable to the Lawes (which are the best balances of right, and rules of Iustice) and to that end Letters were directed to the Lords and Chieffes of account, that their Countries which were large in circuite, might be deuided into Counties (in places where now were none, as in *Wlster*) and to place Officers therein according to the vse and custome of *England*, as Shrieues, Excheaters, Feodaries, Constables, and the like; whereby the poorer sort of people might be kept from oppression, and speedier Iustice, with lesse charge, might bee had nearer at home. The ignorant might bee instructed what to doe, and how to liue; The wilfull made subiect to the rule of Law, or corrected by it. The great men kept from tyrannizing ouer their Tenants and Vnderlings: and the Inferiour sort should know how to support themselves, by lawfull meanes against vnlaw.

unlawfull Vsurpations. This course was consented to by most, and not contradicted by any, but some fewe of the worst condition, and that rather by secret then open opposition.

The Counties thus made in *Ulster*, were these, *Ardmogh Monahan, Tyrone Colerane, Denegall Fermanagh, and Cavan.*

Division of
Counties in
Ulster.

These circuites thus devided and seiled into Shieres, the Deputy (with the Chancellour) appointed sundry of the best estimation to be Iustices of the Peace, to whom hee wrote to shew into what degree of trust they were called, and how important the charge was for her Maiesties Service, and that if in them should be found such industry and sincerity as was expected, hee then saw no cause, but that the course of enormities (which had heretofore runne with more impunity then was meete) might be stopped, and the State of that Country brought from good to better; or at least not suffered to decline againe from bad to worse, as heretofore in the late broken times it had done. Further assuring them, that as hee should be glad to finde them to performe their duties; so hee gave them to vnderstand, that in which of them so ever hee found any crime or defect (whereby so good a Service should bee hindered or corrupted) they should bee brought vnder such seuerer penalty

Admonition
to the Iustices
of Peace.

G

and

and reprehension, as the Law could any way permit, besides the diminution of their credit, and good opinion.

This Letter of admonition bare date, the 15 of December 1584, and with it were sent certaine Articles of Order, for Iustices of Peace, to bee obserued within their seuerall limits, through the whole Realme.

Orders for the
Iustices of
peace, and
choise of a Co-
roner and Con-
stables

To these were added an Authority, and Writs directed for the choise of a Coroner in euery County, and of two able and discreete men to be Constables in euery Barony: besides petty Constables, to be Assistants, and yet inferiour Officers in the discharge of their duties.

notion of
constables
in
England

A Parliament
in England.

These affaires for that Kingdome thus begun, and in some sort settled in the first yeare of this Deputies gouernment, A Parliament beginning in the end of the yeare in England, and his care continuing to prosecute alwayes for the support of that long vnstayed State; finding but colde successe of the promises to his propositions, from the Lords in England, the Ruler of her Maiesties Purse, being loath to aduance any, neuer so important Seruice, by the expence of Treasure: especially, such a summe, as nothing, but extremity, could make him thinke meete should be disbursed, (which sparing, indeede, brought extremity to that Kingdome,) hee resolved to try what
the

the Parliament would doe in so important a
 cause, and to that end wrote over a Letter,
 to craue their helpe for the reformation, and
 strengthening of that ruinous Realme, which
 because it was with such a zeale and directi-
 on to doe good, and may perhaps serue for a
 President, when time shall require; for the
 further establishment of that State, I
 hauethought good to set downe,
 and insert the Letter
 it selfe.



G 2

Sir



Sir *John Perrot*, Lord Deputie
of *Ireland*, to the Commons House
of Parliament in *England*.

The Deputies
Letter to the
Parliament in
England.

Most high and Noble Assem-
bly, the duty I owe to God,
her Maiesty, and my Coun-
try, and the interest I haue
in you rproceedings, though I now be
not (as often I haue beene a member of
that House) moues mee, not onely to
pray deuourly, that God will blesse all
your Counsels, but also to thinke care-
fully of any thing that I conceiue, may
be worthy your graue consultation, and
tend to the glory of God, her Maiesties
Honour, and safety, and strength, and
profit of the whole State.

The malice of the Pope, and all com-
binations and practises, both Forraigne
and

and Domestlicall thereupon depending,
 which haue beene most apparently dis-
 couered from all quarters, and of late
 partly from hence, I humbly leaue to be
 by your grauties provided for, & there-
 fore her Maiestie hauing assigned mee
 (though vnworthy) to the charge of this
 Realme. I am drawne by commiseration
 to present the torne, and miserable
 estate of the same vnto your viewes, to-
 gether with the occasions and meanes
 of redresse that are now offered, and
 which it humbly imploereth through
 your godly and Honourable aydes.

I trust I shall not neede to goe about
 to confute the bad opinion, that hath
 beene held of some, concerning there-
 formation of the same; for I am per-
 swaded, that there is no one amongst
 you so vngodly, as doth thinke all mis-
 chiefe sufferable in a Common-wealth;
 for pollicies sake; or so ill aduised, as not
 to see the great charge this Realme hath
 beend vnto that, and must still breede

vnto it, while it is in disorder, or dege-
 nerate from the Noble courage of our
 Forefathers; as to doubt that *England*
 shall not be able to rule and hold *Ireland*,
 being reduced to good estate: For sith
 all power is of God, and that either of
 his morie hee establisheth the happy
 continuance of all well ordered King-
 domes, or of his iustice ouerthroweth,
 or translateth the contrary. No man
 that hath any sparke of grace, or reason,
 can hope that euer *England* may long
 enioy *Ireland*, if it suffer it in this licen-
 tious impunity, to embrewe it selfe in
 Heathenish and superstitious Idolatries,
 Treasons, Rebellions, Murthers, Rapes,
 Robberies, Mischiefes; or doubt, that it
 may become a strong and profitable or-
 nament to *England*, if on the other side,
 religion, duty, obedience, peace, quiet-
 nesse, true dealing, order, civility, may
 be planted in it. of 70 212 212 212 212
 Because examples doe more per-
 swade sometimes then reason, I humbly
 beseech

beseech you to reuiew the ancient State of this Kingdom, and it will appeare by good demonstrations, not vnknowne to some of that most Noble Assembly, that our Predecessours in a very short time planted in euery part of this Kingdom, Cities, Towns, & Castles, whereof doe remaine yet the Reliques euen in *Ulster* (where Barbarisme most pretuailed) & yeelded vnto *England* great yearly reuenewes; the decayes thereof grew from Gods heauy hand, visiting the Enemies of that time, first vpon *England*, and consequently vpon *Ireland*, as an appendix by the diuision of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, the harmes (God bee praised) is repaired againe in *England* by the happy Vnion of those two Houses (all being of one Nation; but not in *Ireland*, where the *Irish* preuailed against the *English*, by reason of that diuision vnder the factions, raised heere for the maintenance of the same, not vnknowne

to

to some of you that haue had the managing of these causes of this State: Much bloud hath since beene spilt, and an infinite treasure consumed to recover that dammage, through a deadly hate conceiued betweene the two Nations, and that not without the maintenance of the degenerate *English*, whereof the late Earle of *Desmond* may bee an example for the rest.

This dissention hath beene euer since maintained, and lately nourished by the needy *Scots* of the out Isles, and lately by the Popes crue vnder *Saunders*, vpon whom Gods curse preuailed against their Chieftaines blessing.

Thus you see, how this matter hath long hung in question, what misery and milchiefe hath ensued thereof, and what honour and profit it was, and againe would be vnto *England*, if it were redressed.

It remaineth: I shew not onely the good occasions, and meanes thereof

now

now offered, but also the good thereby to ensue, and so to conclude with my humble Petition for your ayde. Heretofore the *Irish* haue beene iealous of the *English*, imagining that not themselves, but the recovery of the vsurped Lands haue beene sought, and the degenerate *English*, as *Desmond* and some others, haue fallen into the same errors, which hath made them to spurne against all Authority, and vse the ayde of the *Scots*, almost to their owne extirpation.

But now her Maiesties mercy, and gracious meaning, being publicly denounced vpon the ouerthrow of the Rebels and Forraigne Enemies, that her Highnesse equally ballanceth her Subiects, according to their due deserts, without respect of Nation, as hauing interest from G O D in them all alike: they see their errour, not onely in flying from so gracious a Princes and Soueraigne; but also in embracing the needy

H

rauenous

raucous *Scots*, that had well might de-
nounced them all. And therefore I am
farre from the opinion of those, that
would haue the *Irish* extirped, sith I
see that the occasion of dissention being
now taken away, they are (as I suppose)
easily made one with vs, and so as like-
ly to be continued, as any other genera-
tion whatsoeuer, that in their place
should be planted.

I make this collection by prooffe, I
haue had not onely of their willing-
nesse, to ioyne with mee in the ex-
pulsion of the *Scots*, but also to yeeld
their Lands simply, as many of the
best haue done, and the rest are ready
to doe, to be resumed of her Maiestie,
by Tenures, Rents, and Services, both
honourable and profitable to her Maie-
stie, seruiceable to the State, and com-
modious to themselves: which I haue
made particularly knowne to her Ma-
iestie, and the Lords of her most Ho-
nourable Prinie Counsell.

Here-

Hereunto I haue to adde, that they
are most willing, and ready to leaue
olde *Irish* exactions vpon their Free-
Holders and Tenants, and to conuert
the same to Rents certaine, whereof
what wealch and quiernesse is like to
ensue, I will leaue to the report of some
of you, that know this State: for I
should trouble you too tediously to dis-
cuss it particularly.

I haue besides so preuailed with them
as well by good dealings, as by order-
ruling them with her Majesties Forces,
that I haue wonne them to enseruaine
English Souldiers instead of *Sons*, so as
I haue compounded with the Chief-
taines of *Ulster*, for the maintenance of
1000 *English* Souldiers, and doe mean
to proceed with the rest with their con-
tentation, and to their owne good, that
I hope to haue a mayned Garrison here
in a readinesse of two thousand Foot
men, and foure hundred Horse rea-
die for all euents, and those in time

to be but a small charge to her Maiestie,
and that Realme.

Those occasions may in some mens
opinion seeme good, but vncertaine,
and so indeede are, as all occasions are,
if they be not well taken hold of, and
that in time. For the *Irish*, as all man-
kinde besides, yea, euen borne in *Middle-
sex*, as naturally slippery, vncertaine, and
vnruely: and therefore the meanes to be
vsed to make them stayed, certaine, and
orderly, which are partly by Iustice, and
partly by force. Iustice may bee execu-
ted with small boast, but so cannot
force, and yet the force I meane is not
violable, but benefierall to the whole
State.

The *Irish* Rebelle, and his *Scottish*
partaker, or rather maintainer, doe
greatly trust in their aduantage of Wood
and Bogg, where they runne vp and
downe sanagely, and in our disaduan-
tage (especially in *Wylster* the *Scot* ar-
runtch) through want of Bridges,
Townes,

Townes, and Forts, as well to pursue them, and to keepe Garrison against, as also to breede Traffique and good Society, betweene the well disposed of both the Nations, whereof I of late as others before me haue, and doe daily finde the great discommodity. I haue therefore determined there chiefly, and in some part of the Realme besides, to build seauen Townes, seauen Castles, and seauen Bridges in the places herevnder mentioned, which were these; viz. the Townes *Atblon*, *Dingle*, *Colerane*, *Liffre*, *Sligo*, *Newry*. The Castles, the black water to be better fortified, *Ballishannon*, *Belleck* to be new erected, The broad water in *Mounster*, *Castell Merten* vpon the *Roue*, *Gallin* in the *Queenes County*, *Kilcoman* in *Flagh Mar Hughs Country*. The Bridges, *Colerane*, *Liffre*, *Ballishannon*, *Dondalka*, the Broad water in *Mounster*, the *Riner of Yeale* vnder *Stelagher*, *Kelles* in *Clan deloy*.

201 With these new Buildings, or rather
 for the most part reparations of older ru-
 ines, and those that be already, the
 Realme will be asid warewalled in this
 upon view of the Charter I will ad-
 preate vnto you: and by Gods grace, I
 trust not onely thereby mutuall Traff-
 fique and amity will growe, the waste
 part of this Land may be planted, and
 peopled with good Subjects, those that
 be dutifull strengthened and countenan-
 ced, and those repressed that are ill af-
 fected, but also that the composing al-
 ready made, or hereafter to be made for
 the numbers before mentioned, may be
 holden good, as also other matters of
 honour and profitt to both the Realmes
 may be brought to passe, as void hope
 202 But such this will not be done without
 out some charge, albeit the same be not
 great, in respect either of the good it
 will bring, or of some other greater
 charges heretofore bestowed, I humbly
 pray, that I may presume to recommend
 do W. H. the

the same to your most Noble and favourable considerations, which is, for the fifty thousand pounds a yeare to be had thence for three yeares together.

A sum not exceeding her Maiestties yearely charge, one yeare with another, since the beginning of her Maiestties Reigne, and short of her Highnes charges in three yeares, not long since, by almost 50000 pounds, as may appeare by Auditors Bookes: and as humbly I pray you, that you doe conceiue, that this my motion doth not procede from any direction, but onely from the cause it selfe, which I haue at Eye, and wherein for zeale and duties sake, I doe, and protest not onely to imploy my body and minde, but also all that substance that I am well able to spare, which I know will fall out vpon mee the greatest Subsidie of any Subject in the Land, through the charge that hath, and will arise of my continuall trauielling to effect these

Think

Services

Services from place to place, (for other-
wise it will not be done) where I might
saue by setting my selfe in places cer-
taine.

Having thus protested to spend mine
owne with good contentation, I trust
I may easily auoyde all opinion of in-
tent, to get by issuing of the money, for
I utterly denouche the handling or di-
recting of one penny, otherwise then
by the aduice of such as shall be special-
ly assigned to that trust with me.

If our Ancestors, when the world
was more needy & bare, did not make
stay at great summes to lesser purpose.
I trust the present plentifull State of
England will shewe a franke and
chearefull readinesse to aduance a mat-
ter, that according to the occasion now
offered, requireth present helpe and re-
medy. I humbly beseech you thinke
what a continuall sinke both of men
and money hath this State beene vn-
to that.

Thinke

Thinke also what Forraine Princes
 haue attempted, and doe still gape for
 it, wayting onely opportunity, and if
 they doe catch it, what a dangerous and
 noysome neighbour vnto *England* they
 will make it. Choake vp the sinke at
 once, make one charge of all, concei-
 uing you doe but lend so much vpon
 large Interest, and that you cast now
 your seede into a fruitfull ground, that
 will yeeld a profitable Haruest, and
 by your Honourable Magnanimity and
 care, put downe the courages of those
 ambitious Princes, and stop the course
 of their ambitious intentions against
 this Realme, and consequently that.
 And I (for my part) doe auowe, besides
 that small portion of wealth that God
 hath lent me, to afford my life, well be-
 stowed in that action, with no lesse care
 and diligence then I haue already vsed,
 in the short time of gouernment I haue
 passed, which I trust seemeth not
 altogether fruitlesse. And so crauing
 I humble

humble pardon, if zeale and affection
haue any way miscaried me: I humbly
end from her Maiesties Castle of *Dublin*
this 17 of January 1584.

1585

Parliament in
Ireland.

Order for *Irish*
apparell, not
to be worne in
Parliament.

Shortly after, to confirme these conclusi-
ons, and to reduce the people to conformity
of gouernment, a Parliament (before resolved
on) is now summoned to be held at *Dublin*,
where the Nobility, Clergie, and Commons,
being assembled, Order was taken, that none
were permitted to goe in *Irish* attire (as in for-
mer time they vsed) but to sort themselues in
such habite after the *English* manner, as was
answerable to their severall rankes and quali-
ties, and because the charge might breede no
difficulty with the chiefe men in Parliament,
to yeeld to this Order. Hee bestowed vpon
Tirlagh Leynogh, the principle Lord of *Vlster*,
and on some others, chiefe of the *Irish*, Gowns
and other Roabes fit for that place, and their
degrees, which they embraced like fetters: of
which being weary, one of them came to the
Deputy, and besought him, that one of his
Chaplaines (which hee called Priests) might
goe with him along through the Streetes, clad
in his *Irish* Trousers: for then (quoth he) the
Boyes will laugh as fast at him, as they now

doc
f

doe at me, whereat though the Deputy could haue smiled; yet casting a frowne vpon his countenance, told him, there was no cause he should thinke any laughed at him, for wearing those which were fit ornaments for the place he now held, and did present in Parliament: but if any did so, it was at his ill wearing of the same, which want of ciuill custome caused: Therefore since vse would make that seemely, which now was ridiculous, he aduised him to view the difference of being fit for all Assemblies, and onely fit for the Woods and barbarous Places; but (quoth the Deputy) if any idle or ill affected person shall put the contrary into your head, belecue it to be done out of an ill meaning to the State, and worse vnto your person, for contempt of order and decencie, will in the end be your downfall. This aduice was taken eyther as found good, or out of necessity to be followed: but hereby wee may discerne that custome, is commonly preferred before decency, and opinion before reason, especially amongst people where ciuility is vnplanted; Withall it is to be obserued in the proud condition of the *Irish*, that they disdain to sort themselues in fashion vnto vs, which in their opinion would more plainly manifest our Conquest ouer them; and this I take to be the cause of their vntowardnesse in this particular, which made the Deputy to set the reformation more to heart, well knowing that

The reason,
the *Irish* are
vnwilling to
sort them-
selues to the
English habit.

the Lords and chiefe of the *Irish*, framing themselves in habite and plainnesse to their *Vnderlings*, made themselves the more popular. Willing orvnwilling, they were constrained to come to the Parliament in that ciuill habit, which did best fit the place and present seruice.

A Bill for the
suspension of
Poynings Acts,

47

In this Parliament, which began at *Dublin* the 26 of Aprill 1583, in the 17 yeare of the *Queenes* Reigne. Sundry Bills were passed in the first Session, which being Enacted, and new Printed, therefore neede here no further mention; but their disputes and differences arose about a Bill preferred in the *Commons House*, for the suspension of *Poynings Act*, which past in the tenth yeare of King *Henry* the seauenth, before Sir *Edward Poynings* then Deputy. That no Bill should passe in any Parliament in *Ireland*, for a Law, vntill the same had first a Royall assent in *England*. This the Deputy would haue suspended by Act of Parliament, to the end, that opportunity might be taken for passing such Bills, as the present occasion might offer for the good of the Seruice, without attending the further resolution of *England*: whereby the aduantage of aduancing present Seruices might be lost, making that by delay more vnpassable, which at the present, might easily be perfected: But this, howsoeuer grounded vpon good iudgement by the Deputy, was impugned, especially by some.

Some chiefe stirrers in the *English* Pale, and
ouerthrowne by them at the third reading,
(who feared perchance, that something might
be propounded, and speedily Enacted, which
might crosse some purposes of their owne) and
therefore by suspition were caried to their own
preiudice; yet afterwards vpon better infor-
mation (that doubt being cleared) they then
seemed more inclinable to the passage of the
Bill, and vpon demaund obtained conference
with the Deputy, touching the same, and de-
parted, seeming satisfied in their duties, where-
vpon the Parliament was adiourned for three
weekes. Afterwards notwithstanding the qua-
lification of this Bill (agreed vpon by their
Cōmitties) they ouerthrew it the second time.

The Cōmons
against the
Bill concern-
ing *Paynings*
Ad.

The iealousie, and mistaking of some Law-
yers (ioyned to them of the *English* Pale) like-
wise suspecting the repeale of this Statute, was
intended for some other end then was preten-
ded, made much contention and dislike about
it, and by withstanding it, gaine-saide their
owne profits; for indeede it was preferred to
no other end, but to haue free liberty, without
restraint to treat of such matters as might e-
qually concerne the good of that Kingdome,
yet such strength hath Iealousie and Suspition
to hinder good endeuours, as seeking to auoyd
harmes, preuents the good which is intended,
and by a by- course runnes with a full sayle vpon
the mischieses feared.

Prerogation
of the Parlia-
ment.

A Bill for the
attainder of
Desmond pas-
sed.

*Alexander
Mac Surly's*
intention to
invade the
North.

Notwithstanding, this discention about *Peynings* Act (whereof some that did most in publique oppose it, did afterwards in priuate confesse their error) yet diuers profitable Acts were passed, both for the priuate and publique in this first Session, which ended the 25 of May, and was prorogued till Aprill following. Amongst the rest, a Bill being preferred for the Attainder of the late Earle of *Desmond*, and passing his Lands by Excheate to the Crowne, receiued at the first some opposition by the meanes of one *John Fitzedmonds*, who shewed there a Feosment, made by the late Earle before he enterd into actuall Rebellion, vntill Sir *Henry Wallop* the Treasurer, brought in an Instrument of Confederacy, betweene the Earle and his Followers, bearing date before the Feosment, vnto which *Fitzedmonds* own hand was subscribed, which Treasonable subtilty being well weighed, and considered of, the Bill passed without difficulty.

Soone after the end of this Session, notice was giuen to the Deputy, of a new practise of *Alexander Mac Surly*, sonne to *Surleboys* (vnder the colour of a discention, betweene him and the chiefe Lords of *Ulster*) to draw againe the *Scottish Islanders* thither, who had prepared in a readinesse 400 of those firebrands, daily expected to arriue. And because *Tirlagh Leynagh Oneale*, was weakened by want of govern-

gouvernement, and by age growne vnable to rule his people; but much more disabled by his late dependency vpon the State, and conformity to the will of the Deputy, through the peruerse Nature of those people, growth was giuen to the Baron of *Dongan* his aspiring; who quickly tooke occasion thereby to aduance himselfe into the hearts of those barbarous and State despising people. Therefore the Deputy by the assent of the Councell, resolved vpon another iourney into *Ulster*, and so speedily performed it, as hee was enforced to go with much lesse power & prouision then hee had done in the former; setting forwards vpon the 26 day of Iuly, and passed speedily as farte as *Dongan*, in the County of *Tyrone*, the Barons chiefe seate. Heither (being by the Deputy sent for) repaired all the Chieftaines of *Ulster*, except those of the *Claniboyes*, whom hee appointed to defend that Coast of the Country, against the Islanders inuasion. *Oneale* with his pretended *Vriaghs* and Dependents, *Odonnell* and his Followers, especially *Hugh Duffe Odonnell* (the elected *Tawnist*, or next succeeding Lord of that Countrey) who brought with him *Odogherty*, and Sir *Owen Oseale*, yeelded to all his Lordships demands, which hee thought meete to require at their hands; but *James Caragh*, a man of account amongst the *Donelaughs*, and most deuoted to *Shane Oneales* family, auoyded the Deputy

1585.

The Deputy's
second iour-
ney into the
North.

All the chieftes
(saing Bryan
Garagh) sub-
mit them-
selves to the
Deputy.

ties presence, of which for the present no great notice was taken.

At this time the Deputy did perfect the reducing of this Province into Shires or Counties (as was before appointed) by placing and setting bounds (with aduice of the Country) to each County. After which, perceiuing that the Ilanders continued on in their purpose of Incurfion into *Wlster*, he sent one Capitaine *Dawtre* vnto the King of *Scots*, with Letters to moue his Maiesty against this their frequent course, of inuading the Queenes Dominion, and that if hee would be pleased to restraine his people from the same, and to cause restitution to be made of some *Irish* Merchants goods, taken and with-held in some parts of *Scotland*, there should bee the like correspondencie of Iustice shewed to his Maiesties Subjects, comming into *Ireland*, while he gouerned in that Kingdome.

Captaine *Daw-
tre* sent into
Scotland.

The King of
Scots answer.

To this the King returned a Princely answer, signifying that he had receiued his Letter, which manifested his good disposition to Iustice, as formerly he had taken notice thereof, by his Order with the Merchants of *Scotland*, restoring their goods restrained in sundry parts of *Ireland*; for which good Office he gaue him many thanks, promising the like, that the Merchants of *Dublin* and *Carick Fer-
gus* (lately robbed, or pretended so to bee) should haue the same course of Iustice at his hands.

hands. As for the restraint of *Surliboy*, with his brother, their sonnes and followers, which the Deputy omitted in his Letter, as a point committed onely to the credite of the Bearer, the King also promised immediately to direct his Letters to inhibit them vpon paine of Treason, from molesting any of the *Queenes* Subjects; and if they (neuerthelesse) should attempt the contrary, his Highnesse would vse them as Rebels, and to that end gaue Commission to *Mac Allen*, and the Country thereabouts to rise and prosecute them accordingly; but before the deliuey of this Letter (which bore date at *Saint Andrews* in *Scotland*, the fourth of *August* 1585) or immediately after, and before the Kings pleasure could be made knowne to any his *Gouernours* or *Subiects*. The *Ilanders* to the number of 400 arriued in *Wlster*, and ioyning with *Con Mac Neale* Oges sonne, and with those of the *Dufferin*: The *Okelleys*, most of the *Wood-kerne* of *Kilwarlen*, *Mac Carines* Country, and with *Hugh Mac Felmis* son, they had doubled their number within a fortnight to at least 800; such being the condicion of that Country people, as to be quickly weary of Peace; wherein the worke of ciuillity might be wrought, being a thing as hatefull to the *Barbarous*, as *Barbarisme* and wildnesse is to a people flourishing in wealth and ciuillitie, vnder a wise *Gouernement*. So sweet is *Idleneesse* to those who haue neuer

The arriua'l
of the Ilanders
in Wlster.

1585
1585

tasted the fruite of Industry, wherein the Governours of *Ireland* (for the most part) had hitherto fayled, even since the Conquest of the same, neglecting the wayes and courses to civilize those called the wilde *Irish*, whereby the *English* Families (governed according to the custome of *England*) following the Nature of man, ever enclining to the worse, rather learnt rudenesse and Barbarisme of the *Irish*, then taught them civilliry and manners.

The Deputy hearing of these *Scots* landing, gave order vnto Captaine *Francis Stafford* (a man of a forward spirit, and an extraordinary vnderstanding) for their present prosecution in the neather *Claniboy*, who with a small force, not consisting of the fourth part of these fugitives, and their partakers, made head against them with 170 Souldiers, besides a few kerne; and vpon the 18 of Iuly, encountred them in the morning; and according to the loose manner of the *Irish* fighting, continued in skirmish till foure in the afternoone, marching on, and winning ground, much to the commendation of the Commanders iudgement, and the Souldiers resolution: the custome of these Iland Souldiers (if they may be termed Souldiers) is to flye when they be closely followed, and to be fierce, when they are fearefully resisted, or faintly prosecuted; for indeede neither they, nor the *Irish*, ever gaue our Nation defeat,

but

Captaine *Stafford* encountred the *Scots*.

but vpon our shrinking from them. At this time *Shane Mac Bryan* seruing vpon our side, shewed himselfe forward and faithfull to his great commendation. At length Captaine *Stafford* recovered a place of aduantage; hauing in this skirmish lost but eight men; and brought off twelue hurt, and had slaine of the Enemie 24 vpon the place; and wounded at least 40 more, which the Deputy for the grace of the Captaine and his Assistants, gaue a praisefull report of into *England*; where doubtlesse it was little regarded, in respect of the small shew it presented: but considering the State of things as they then stood, it was well done to gaine aduantage, the warre of that Kingdome in those dayes being acted with small numbers.

The Enemie being thus with a few, in respect of their number, resisted and beaten back, did afterwards shunne place and occasion of fight, putting themselves ouer the Riuer of *Bande* into *Tyrone*, from whence by the Deputies direction to the Baron of *Dunganon*, they were by him, and such Forces as the Deputy had sent vnto him, speedily put to retreat, and Captaine *Stafford* with a new supply had them againe in chase, which enforced those stragling runnagate Strangers to draw back towards *Douluca*, where *Alexander Mac Surly*, their chief Comander, supposed he might haue had best succour from his Fathers friends, or

Alexander Mac Surly, resisted by the Baron of *Dunganon*.

*Alexander re-
tires to Enish-
owen.*

*O'Donnell of-
fers ayde to
the English.*

at least by their meanes might haue shipped
away into the Ilands: but the Deputy being
still in the North, and studying their preuen-
tion every way, They were constrained to
take towards *Enishowen* in *Odeghberties* Coun-
tries, to draw force out of *Tyrconnell* for their
Assistants: but *Hugh Duffe O'Donnell* lately
mentioned, a man then faithfull, or at least
standing firme to the State, for his owne ends,
that by the fauour thereof, he might the more
surely succcede *O'Donnell*, came to *Strabane*,
a Towne of *Tirlogh Leynaughs*, not farre from
the *Lyffar*, and acquainted the English there,
that *Alexander Mac Surly*, being at *Enish-
owen* with 600 Ilanders and others, had a pur-
pose to surprise them at *Strabane*, knowing by
intelligence, that the Companies sent thither
the yeare before were growne weake, and the
Captaines all absent saving *Merryman*, who
indeede had but 160 able men remaining of
the foure Companies: and withall, offered to
draw a draught vpon the Enemie himselfe, if
Merryman would assent thereunto, which
Merryman accepted, and enterprised with
those fewe men, marching all night, think-
ing to take the Enemie vnprouided: but con-
trary to his expectation, hee found them vo-
der good guard, hauing (as it seemed) intel-
ligence, or suspicion, of this their coming,
or attempt.

Vpon discovery, the Enemy drawes out to
fight.

fight. *Merryman* finding himselfe weak, putteth his whole Troupe into one Body; *Alexander* his, into three Diuisions, purposing to assault the *English* vpon so many sides at once, and so to overthrowe them easily: but in respect the ground gaue advantage to the *English*, hee found the worke more difficult.

Merryman
fights with
the Scots,

Alexander being a daring young fellow, and a good Sword-man, shewed himselfe in the head of his men, and called for *Merryman* to answer him in a single Combat, with a Gallinlasse (standing on the out-side of the *English*, saying hee was the man) accepted. They encounter, and *Alexander's* Target being at the first blowe by the Gallinlasse Axt beaten to his head, was astonished; but soone recovering himselfe, got within the other, and with his Sword cleft his head, so as he left him for dead; which *Merryman* seeing, who was not farre off, met *Alexander*, so as with Sword and Target they held for a fewe blowes a good fight: but *Alexander* being sore hurt by the Capitaine on the legge, withdrew, and got himselfe out of the field to ease and dresse his wound.

Alexander
Mac Surly kills
a Gallinlast.

Alexander &
Merryman
fight hand to
hand.

Alexander
hurt retires,
and his men
are over-
throwne.

The rest of his Company missing their Leader, and loosing withall their courage, beganne to flye, and in the end were venterly overthrowne and rowted. Capitaine *Merryman* making search for *Mac Surly*,

*Alexander
Mac Surly's
head cut off,
and sent to
Dublin.*

who he knew, was not able to goe farre with his wound, found an olde woman sitting sadly, of whom he demanded for him: she being terrified by the Souldiers, pointed with her finger to a place where a fewe Turfes were layde ouer Hurdles, vnder which *Alexander* was hidden. There they found him stiffe with his wound, and vsing small ceremony with him, struck off his head, which being sent to the Deputy, was set vpon a Pole at the Castle of *Dublin*.

*The Deputy
retires to Dub-
lin.*

This Incurfion being ended, and the Inuaders absolutely defeated, being the second good successe of the Deputy in his Warre, and principally atchieued by his presence in the North, which with-held many of the rebellious people, from ioyning with the Ilanders, and especially their Chiefes from giuing countenance to their proceeding.

*The Deputy
retires to Dub-
lin.*

Hee was neuertheleffe vpon the sixteenth day of Iuly, contrary to the good and necessity of the Seruice, enforced to retire towards *Dublin*, to prouide himselfe to answer complaints, made by some of the Councell there against him into *England*, who tooke occasion to enforme this his iourney, to be an expedition superfluous, chargeable, and vnprofitable to her Maiesty, and the Country.

*Surleys sub-
mission.*

Shortly after *Surleys* submitted himselfe at *Dublin* to the Queenes mercy, where, one shewing him his sonnes head, he made answer,

My

My sonne, quoth he, hath many heads: al-
ding (as it seemed) to the *Hidra*, resembling,
indeede a factious and turbulent State, and the
disposition of an Enemy, who (living in ex-
treame povertry) will ever be finding meanes
and heads to leade them to better themselves,
by the spoyle of their neighbours, which the
death of this one man could not preuent.

Amongst the informations against the De-
puty, there was objected, that hee had taken
strict courses in his government, as requiring
the Oath of obedience, appointing Officers
to looke into mens Patents, Warrants given in
the late Parliament, to preferre Bills for ma-
king the like Lawes, as were in *England* against
Recusants. Causing a Bill to be preferred in
the first Session, for the suspension of *Poyninges*
Act, to the hazard of stirring up a commotion:
Yrging that these courses did decline the peo-
ple from peace to vnquietnesse: Such force
had slander got by malicious Enuie, as to make
a Bee a Spider, and to worke that honey with-
out, of the flowers of his iudgement and sincer-
ity, he had painfully gathered, to a corrupt
poyson, as by the wofull effect, it, in after time,
too manifestly appeared.

This information was given against him, by
such as hee had left in trust for State causes in
his absence, especially by the Chancellor, the
Archbishop of *Dublin*, a man of great wise-
dome and experience, and such a one, as for
his

The Deputy
enformed a-
gainst.

The Deputy
and Chancel-
lour differ a-
bout the erec-
ting of the
Vniuersity.

his parts might well merit the estimation of an extraordinary States-man and Councillor; and it was pity these good things should be the cause of euill effects; for betweene him and the Deputy were discontentments grounded vpon directions, given by the Deputy in the last Parliament, for conuersion of the liuing of *Saint Patricks in Dublin*, to the maintenance of a Colledge, and Vniuersity there to be erected: first intended by King *Edward* the first, and now at this time given in charge to this Deputy by the *Queene*, which hee accordingly purposed to prosecute, as a certaine foundation of the reformation of that Kingdome; which howsoeuer the Chancellour could not but in his iudgement know and allowe of; yet in respect some of his kindred, friends, and Allies, were interrested in these possessions; hee gaue great opposition thereto, pretending the cause to be in right of the Church, whereof he vndertooke to be the Patron. Likewise (as it seemed) hee tooke to heart the peremptory proceeding of the Deputy, as well in other matters of State as in this; finding himselfe slighted of that regard, some precedent Gouvernours had yeilded him; for his being a Prelate, great in place, and made greater by the Offices hee had lately borne; now finding that this mans prosperous beginning, carried perchance with a more absolute Authority then others had vsually exercised,

if

if it were not crossed, would breed a diminution of his power in that State, by his wisdom already highly planted, preferring his particular too tenderly, which to preserve, hee fell into contention with the Deputy, and raised a faction against him of some of the Countaile; as Sir Henry Bagnall, (who had married his sister to his eldest sonne) and others; so that from hence sprung not onely private informations, but publique croakings at the Councell Table, even in things which, if they had beene peaceably handled, might have much advanced her Majesties Service, and the good of that Kingdom. Such is the State of Ambition, as it neuer sees any way, but by the stailes of its owne climbing.

The Deputy makes answer to these objections, against his late Northerne journey, and the other things already mentioned, especially for the conversion of Saint Patrickes Living, therein indeede lying the most assured roote of reformation. Neuertheless, the Lord Chancellour taking vpon him (as is said) to bee the onely Patron of the Church affaires, and knowing his power with the Lord Treasurer of England, in the ballance of whose wisdom, most State causes (especially concerning England and Ireland) were at that time cast, laboureth by all meanes to hinder the Deputies

L

procce-

The Chancellour raiseth a faction against the Deputy,

and so on T
and so on
and so on
and so on

The Deputy
and so on
and so on
and so on
and so on
and so on
and so on
and so on

James O. S. T.
a. S. S. S. S. S. S.
S. S. S. S. S. S. S.
S. S. S. S. S. S. S.

The Chan-
cellor in Eng-
land prevail-
eth,

The Queene
reproveth the
Chancellour
by her letters,

proceeding as well by his Letters which here-
tofore had beene prevalent, as by his Agents
who watched the best opportunity, and tooke
the right way of prevailing in Court, which
the Deputy not suspecting, or at least not fea-
ring, trusting to the waight of his owne zeale,
could not prevent; whereby at length the
Chancellour so farre prevailed in that one
point, as Letters were written from the Queene
and Councell, to make stay of the conversion
of those Livings; withall, advertisement is gi-
ven by the Queene to them both, that shee had
taken notice of their contentions, with admo-
nition to forbear such crossing, as must needes
give impediment to the publique service.
And by her owne particular Letter to the
Chancellour, in expresse manner, shee com-
manded a reformation; wherein was to be ob-
served, how carefull shee was of the common
good, though the interest of the Chancellours
friends in her favour wrought deeply, to the
advancement of his particular. But this her
gracious admonition was not well followed
on either side; for the Deputy being by na-
ture stollerish, and not able to endure the at-
fronts of an inferiour, especially discerning
that the Chancellours particular ends had gai-
ned respect above his publique, (which to a
good Patriots patience was no small mouer)
could not containe himselfe vpon the provo-
king words of his wily Aduersary, who omit-
ted

red no meanes, or occasion that might enforce his intemperance; and so distemperd, hee for exceeded himselfe, as he spared not the greatest, by whom he thought himselfe wronged: which fault of his is indiciouly observed by Sir Walter Raleigh, to have bene the greatest cause of his overthrowe; private misrespect oftentimes swaying in a Princes heart; more then publique miscarriage. So the one not brooking an equall, and the other envying a Superiour, the bonds of charity, patience, and policy, were by both broken.

The Deputy through choller exceeded himselfe,

Vpon the Chancellours side, the then Secretary (a Moath in all the Deputies garments of his time) was fatigued, who upon the beginning of the Parliament hold in Ireland, was employed into England to negotiate the affaires thereof, which at the first he seemed well to attend, and desirous that the success of that Parliament might breede the common good: but at length either by the cull of his owne disposition, or wrought by the Deputys Aduersaries in Court, or the Chancellours infligation, hee became from a private Practizer, a publique, and professed Aduersary; for whereas by his Letter of the 21 July 1581, he signified her Maiesties good allowance of the Deputies serving in these words: That hee had procured generall peace, and had gayed the peoples hearts unto their Prince: but on the ninth of September following, did write

The Secretaries double dealing with the Deputy.

The Deputy which to the Queen

of the alteration of the Queenes good opinion in some of his Seruices; which being likewise manifested by some other such his sharpe intelligence, and some circumstances: especially her Maiesties owne Letters concurring, which hee brought ouer: the Deputy was confirmed in his opinion of the Secretaries factions, and false informing courses against him. Vpon receipt of which Letters, being partly admonitory, and partly reprehensiu, although the Queene was pleased to signifie therein, that shee was well perswaded of his care and diligence, and tooke in good part all his doings, as proceeding from a speciall zeale to doe her seruice: yet finding or suspecting a fauor withall to bee layde on his iudgement, in some matters which did arise (as he conceived) from the perswasion of his Euemies, his nature would not suffer him to suppress, or conceale his griefe. Hee therefore wrote ouer vnto her, as hee had already done vnto the Lords of her Counsaile, shewing the good successe of his late Northerne journey, with the necessity thereof, and the content of the Councell therunto, and to his proceeding in tendering the Oath of obedience; hee pleaded warrant and possorie of State, and to all the other allegations, as of Nouelties and supposed inconueniencies, hee replied that they were malicious fumes, and without cause of doubt therein, as his

The Deputy
writeth to the
Queene,

Adversary

Adversary pretended, alleading a dangerous consequence, to breede feare, doubt, and inquietnesse in the Natiues, which were but suggestions, to hinder such seruices, as would easily be performed without perill; finding now the pride and power of the euill affected *Irish*, to be altogether abated, and the people enclined to yeeld conformity vnto his commandments. Therefore it seemed fit to him to take the opportunity which the time offered, to worke that which former time could not compassse. But finding all this (how necessary so euer) crossed by them, which should rather haue giuen furtherance to it, contriuing his actions ascending to innouation, likely to stirre dissention, and produce danger. He confessed that he was much discouraged, but yet would pursue his course in the best manner he could (being so restrayned.) For the view of mens Charters, wherewith hee was charged, hee denied that euer he intended, much lesse praesised any such thing, which clearly manifested the Accusers malice and slander. Hee confessed that hee had vrged some of them to take the Oath of obedience, and gaue his reason for it, for finding their obstinacie, and repugnance to reason in Parliament, he held this the best meanes to try their fidelily by, concluding with all humiliry, which tasted something neuerthelesse, of passion and grieve, for it must needes trouble him to see his zealous care,

The Lords of
the *English*
Pale write a-
gainst the De-
puty.

The Lords by
another Letter
recanted their
error.

to assure all things to the good of his Prince,
mistaken by the malice of his Adversaries,
whose whole aime being but at their owne
particular, were not so sensible as they should
have beene, how they everted the publique by
puddling the water wherein their fish lay. And
to strengthen this their information, to the
end hee might be made the more distrustfull to
her Maiestie, and the Lords of her Counsell
Some of the Lords of the *English* Pale, are in-
cited to write unto the Queene 7 July 1587;
in complaint against the Deputy, that over
and besides a composition of two thousand
pounds yearly renennew formerly made in
lieu of Cess, and other charges claimed to be-
long by Prerogative into the State, from the
sue Counties of the *English* Pale, hee inten-
ded to impose a second charge of fiftene hun-
dred pound *per Annum* sterling; so making the
yoke of her Government to appeare heanie
and insupportable. But not long after some
of those Lords (finding themselves abused) as
the Vicount *Germanstowne*, the Lords of *Slany*,
Hoathe, and *Trimelstene*, by another Letter
recanted their error, expressing sorrow for
mistaking the Deputies meaning, acknow-
ledging his fatherly care of them, & the Coun-
try: (for those were the words of their Letter)
and that they would not have written against
him, neither for the former particular, nor for
the suspicion of *Pynings* Act, if they had dis-
cerned

cerned or vnderstood what they now found
of his disposition, to doe them, and the Coun-
try right. This shewes in what a slippery seate
they sit, that gouerne that Kingdome; for In-
nocencie is not alwayes safe, though it be euer
best, for it cannot bee free from impuration,
when it is free from corruption; the vnder-
Instruments of State aduancing themselves
thereby.

Notwithstanding these complains, cross-
sings and backbirings, the Deputy like a care-
full Common-wealths man; and iust seruant
to his Prince, professed he would proceede on
to the discharge of his duty, as long as he held
that place, esteeming it better to be disgraced
for doing well, then to be remiss in doing well.
Therefore care is had, to settle a Composition
in *Connaght* sutable to that in *Ulster*, begun
for the encrease of the Crownes reuennue,
and settling of some certainty in that Prouince;
betwixt the Lords and their Tenants; for the
preuention of such mischiefes as had hap-
pened formerly, there by their disagreement,
and for the reformation of such enormities, as
were frequent by the dependencie of the mean
person, vpon the chiefe Lords.

To this purpose in the same yeare, so soone
as the late begun troubles of *Ulster* were paci-
fied, and the other Prouinces of *Ireland* began
to be plyable, and conformable to Iustice and
Peace. A commission is directed to Sir *Richard*
Bingham

Commission
sent into *Con-
naught* for
making the
composition,

Bingham, the Governour of *Connaught*, *Sir Nicholas White* Master of the Rowles, *Sir Thomas Lefrange*, *Charles Calihorpe* the Queenes Attourney Generall, *Thomas Dillon* Chiefe Justice of *Connaught*, *Gerard Comesford* Attourney there, and *Francis Barkeley*, to enter into a course for procuring a composition with the principall Lords spirituall and temporall.

The Chiefetaines of Countries, Gentlemen, and Free-holders of that Prouince of *Connaught*, to passe vnto the Queenes Maiesty, her Heires and Successours, a graunt of tenne shillings *English*, or a marke *Irish*, vpon every quarter of land containing 120 Acres, manured, or to be manured, as the phrase went, and was significantly set downe, that beares either horne or corne, that was, with tillage or cattell, in lieu and consideration to bee discharged from other Cels, taxation, or tallage, excepting the rising out of Horse and Foote, for the Service of the Prince and State, such as should be particularly agreed vpon, and some certaine dayes labour for building and fortification for the safety of the people and Kingdome. According to which Commission, and the directions therein contained. These Commissioners did trauaile through the seuerall Counties of *Connaught*, first calling and conferring with the Lords, Chiefetaines, Gentlemen, and Free-holders in their seuerall Precincts and Possessions, to finde their dispositions,
how

how farre they were willing to condescend, and yeeld to such a course, for the satisfaction of their Prince, and freedome of themselves from further burthens, to make their charge certaine, and that but small. These things well propounded, and discreetly prosecuted: most, and in a manner, all the principall possessours of land in that Prouince, as they were generally dealt withall, did assent to this contribution for their owne ease, as well as for the satisfaction and seruice of the Prince: of the first themselves were sensible, of the other they had onely aduertisement from the Commissioners, being well chosen for that purpose; especially, Sir *Richard Bingham* the Gouernour, then whom the *Queen* had not in her Dominions a more able and sufficient Gentleman, and that did more neerely lay his actions to a good conscience, so as he did nothing but by the warrant thereof; and nothing did argue his duty to God, and his Prince more, then his vniust fall, (notwithstanding his prime desert) in that unhappy Kingdome, by the deprauing and malicious courses of those Instruments, that in time prosecuted the like against him, as they did now against this Deputy, of whom we now treat, till the light of his innocencie cleared him (though too late) from their aspersion, & brought him to a new & further advancement in that Kingdome, though his great heart (disdayning the iniustice was done him)

M

The Commissioners handled the Commission discreetly.

The hard cause held against Sir *Richard Bingham*.

would

would not hold out long enough, to prosecute the seruice which was in his power to performe: but ere I come to relate this tragicall misdeede, I must mention his vertuous actions, by which hee got the hate of his worthlesse Aduersaries, and must recommend the Earle of *Clanrikard*, who being a most noble Gentleman, and loyall Subiect, was one of the principall in this Seruice.

The covenants between
the Queene,
and the Lords
of Connaught.

After treaties, succeeded Inquisitions to finde what quantiry there was in each Barony, and who were found owners thereof. Indentures were drawne betweene the Deputy in the behalfe of the Queene on the one part, and the chiefe possessioners in the seuerall Precincts on the other, expressing so many quarters and quantiries of Land, with the Rents thereon reserued, and such other covenants as were therein contained.

In the County of *Clare* and *Thomond*, the Earle of *Clanrikard*, the Baron of *Innesquin*, the Bishop of *Killalowe*, the Elect Bishop of *Kilfanorough*, with diuers Knights, and chiefe Gentlemen, subscribed to an Indenture of covenants for the perpetuall, paying out of the nine Baronies of that County, amounting 177 quarters.

Certaine Freedomes were granted to some speciall persons: some quarters of Land to be exempted from this imposition: In consideration whereof, the Lords and Owners of those

those Lands did likewise covenant with the Deputy, that the names, stiles, and Titles of Captainship chiefly, and all other *Irish* Authorities and Iurisdickions heretofore vied by the Lords, Chiefetaines and Gentlemen, together with all elections, and customary diuisions of Lands (which had occasioned great strife and diuision amongst them) should be thenceforth vtterly renounced, extinct, and abollished. The like composition was made vpon the same conditions, with the Lords spirituall and temporall. The Chiefetaines, Gentlemen, and Freeholders in the County of *Mais*, containing nine Baronies, and 1448 quarters of Land; euery quarter esteemed to be 110 Acres: so that out of this 1448 quarters found in this County, there being graunted so much to bee free, as there remained 1200 quarters chargeable, which amounted to sixe hundred pound sterling in that County. There was also by the same composition and couenants, to be maintained by the County for the Service of the Prince, forty good able Horsmen furnished, and two hundred Footemen well Armed, at their owne costs and charges, whensoever they should be called, or commanded thereto by the Deputy or chiefe Gouvernour of the Realme, or by the chiefe Officer of the said Prouince, and to finde fiftene good Horsmen, and fifty Footemen well furnished, in such sort, as the Peeres and *English* Bishops

Sir Nicholas
White his let-
ter to the Lord
Deputy.

ought to doe the same. The like composition was made for the County of *Sligo*, & all other Counties, Countries, Baronies, and Territories of this Province. By the eighth of September 1585, the Commissioners had traualled through the *O'kelleys* Country, all *Thomond*, *Clanrickard*, *Eighth*, *Connaught*, and the rest of the County of *Galway*, which *Mac William Eighth*, and the rest of his name, which were of many branches; besides the petty Lords, and other of the second ranke in their Countries: So that as Sir *Nicholas White* certified to the Lord Deputy, they conceiued hope to come home loaden with Pledges, and leaue that Country vnloaden of many *Macks* and *Oas*, translated by their owne assent (vnto which their hands & Seales were had) to a better course, and more certainty of lining, then hitherto they could afford themselves. In the aduertisement of these affaires, Sir *Nicholas White* did propound vnto the Deputy an ingenious *Enigma* or *Ridle*. That all sorts were eased with their bearing, and yet her Maiesties reuenuue, with the Liuinges of the Lords encreased.

From the County of *Mayo* the Commissioners were to repasse to the County of *Sligo*, and so homewards to the County of *Roscoman*. With *Orurkes* Country called *Letrim*, they were doubtfull how to meddle, considering the condition of himselfe and his Country, both

The Commis-
sioners doubt-
full to meddle
with *Orurk*.

both vnciuill and vnruely.

In those places where they had dealt, they began to erect Mannours to hold of her Maieſtie, beſides the Compoſitions and Royalties reſerued vnto the Crowne. Vpon the returne of this Commiſſion, and the Indentures thereupon drawne, as formerly mentioned. It appeareth there were found in that Prouince 8169 quarters of Land, whereof Freedomes were graunted to 2339, ſo then remained chargeable 6836, whercon there were reſerued in yearly Rent to her Maieſty and the Crowne 3418 pound ſixe ſhillings eight pence ſterling, with the Service of ſo many Horſe and Foote, as is alrady mentioned, and hereafter ſet downe.

Horſemen for riſing out within the Prouince of *Connaught*, vpon their owne victuals. 1224

Horſemen for riſing out within the ſame Prouince for forty dayes vpon their owne victuals. 188

Footemen for riſing out within the Prouince vpon their owne victuals. 1054

Footemen for riſing out of the Prouince for forty dayes vpon their owne victuals. 332

The *Tannist* was cut off in that Prouince.

Mac William Enghers Country being the lower *Bourkes*, was deuided into ſixe parts.

The Lords and their Tenants were agreed together for a certaine Rent, in lieu of all exactions.

That Prouince was deuided into fixe Counties or Shieres, where there were but three before: for so I finde it in a note vnder the Deputies, Sir *Iohn Perrots* owne hand, yet by another painefull Author I see it mentioned, that Sir *Henry Sidney* made the whole fixe Counties, *Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscomon,* and *Lestrin*, then but one, as he had formerly done, the County of *Longford* in *Lemster*, being before called the *Annaly* or *Osferrals* Country; but I suppose he is mistaken being deuided, and peraduenture named by Sir *Henry Sidney*, but perfected by Sir *Iohn Perrot*. Iustices of Assize were ordained, and Shriefes, and Iustices of the Peace, with other inferiour Officers, were established in most parts of this Prouince.

The Counties
of *Connaught*
deuided by Sir
Iohn Perrot,
not by Sir
Henry Sidney.

This Seruice so auailable to the State by cutting off the Inferiours, depending onely vpon the Superiour, was affected beyond the expectation of many, who could not conceine, that Chieftaines would easily condescend to quit their cuttings, *Cosherias*, and other *Irish* exactions of so long continuance and custome, which the people had borne so long, as they thought it now no burthen, knowing no better, & feeling that least wherewith they had so long bin acquainted: But now the Chiefes vnderstanding, that they should haue freedom of lands instead, & lieu of their Chiefteries, & the people by perswasion, brought to beleue, and perceiue

perceiue, they should by this meanes liue more free from exaction, both yeelded to this composition, which to this day doth continue.

If this Seruice had proceeded (as the Deputy intended) as well through the whole Province, as in these parts, and so extended to the rest of the Kingdome : it had surely introduced peace and wealth amongst the people, with obedience, and encrease of reuenuē to the Prince, which at that time might easily haue beene affected : but the bloud and fittall mischiefs threatned vnto that vnhappy Kingdome, were not to bee prevented by the care and industry of this good Gouvernour, whose workes (though built vpon the strong foundation of zeale, knowledge, and integrity) were shaken by the stormes, blowne from the breath of his maligners both here & there, vsing not the Engine of slander onely, but like Magicians stirred vp every spirit, that might moue him to impatiēce, the already mentioned fault of his Nature. That begot rash words, which no sooner spoken, but was enformed with aduantage, which tooke away her Maiesties good opinion of his zeale, to doe her Seruice, so as his faith was interpreted to be vaine glory, which being by him vnderstood, discouraged his proceeding, and finding all his actions (if not flighted) yet brought within the compasse of suspition (a hard reward for so much merit) hee was much perplexed :

The second
information
against the
Deputy.

1586.

perplexed. But heere his misfortune rested not; for now the most perillous practise of his Enemies began to breake forth, which fatall in short time proued his ruine.

*Denis Orough-
ans practise
discouered.*

One *Dennis Oroughan*, who had beene a Romish Priest, counterfeited certaine Warrants in the name of the Deputy, directed to all the *Queenes* Officers within the Realme of *Ireland*, vnto which Warrants the name of the Deputy was set in the vsuall place of Assignation: In them was a generall pardon graunted to the Priest, without limitation of time, or exception of any offence, terming the Realme of *Ireland* and Councell thereof, as if they had beene his, and hee King of it and them, contrary to all vsuall forme, which seemed not to be the Priests owne deuce, because the extraordinary forme must needes bring it in question, and thereby make it of no auale to him, but the Priest being a fit instrument, in respect of his offence, and the fitter through an extraordinary villany grafted in him, was wrought by others to take vpon him this part, to manifest the Deputies ambition, and thereby make him odious to the State here; which deuillish plot was more timely discouered, then the Plotters wished, for the Priest being taken with these counterfeited Warrants (vpon other suspicion) and brought before the Archbishop of *Cashell*, who taking paines in the examination of him, discouered that these Warrants

rants were written by one *Henry Birde*, Register to the high Commission. Aduertisement was given hereof to the Deputy, a Commission thereupon was directed to the Lord *Primate*, Sir *Henry Wallop*, and Sir *Nicholas white*, to call *Birde* before them, and to make search amongst his papers thereby, as by his examination, to finde the meaning of these counterfeited papers of warrant. At first hee denied the writing of the Warrants, but afterwards being tripped in his Answeres, hee confessed hee wrote them; but stisly forswore the subscription of the Deputies name thereto, which (as it should seeme) was done by the Priest himselfe, for hee was the man that after accused the Deputy in *England*; vpon which hee was condemned: so as either the Deputies owne remifnesse in seuerely punishing this man, or his Aduersaries vnderhand protecting him from his deserued punishment, gaue scope to his detestable accusation, which the villaine a little before his death (being not many yeares since) confessed with a seeming remorse for his so falsly accusing an Innocent, by the procuring of others, who were neuer knowne in this world, to repent their misdeede, how they answered in the next, is onely knowne to God himselfe: but it is a fearefull thing to observe, what power such false persons oft haue to preuaile against the most innocent, euen in the iustest Common-weales, which neither

Denis Orough-
an, the false
Author of Sir
Iohn Perrots
accusation in
England.

Denis Orough-
ans repen-
tance.

the wit of man, nor any thing, but the miraculous hand of the highest can preuent or discover.

The Deputies
secrets be-
wrayed,

Another practise about this time, or shortly after succeeded against him, which though it were nor so dangerous, yet it troubled him no lesse, being a meanes to preuent his intended Services, for his Letters and secrets being bewrayed by (as it should seeme) *John Williams*, his owne Secretary, vnto his Aduersaries, and by them communicated vnto others, whom they concerned, her Maiestie was defrauded of her Service, and he brought into suspicion amongst those, where the way of his preuailling lay: vpon the first notice thereof he wrote vnto the Lords of the Councell in *England*, who thereupon gaue commaundement vnto the Lord Chancellour, and the Bishop of *Meath*, to make the Authors knowne of that discovery, shewing the dangerous consequence that followed such practises of publishing secrets, which did concerne the State; but they for some particular respects (as it should seeme) disobeyed that commaundement, though the Queene her selfe did after expressly require it to be done. And withall, she wrote vnto the Lord Chancellour, charging him to forbear contestation with the Deputy, which could not but hinder his service, and embolden euill affected persons, disposed to resist the power of her Gouvernours, when they should discern

cerne such contention amongst those, that were chiefe in authority.

Shortly after the Baron of *Donganon* went into *England*, who hauing beene brought vp with the English, shewed alwayes forwardnesse in the *Queenes* Service against *Tirlogh Leynagh*, and *Shane Oneale*, in times of their disobedience, wherein his speciall ayme was onely his owne aduancement into their title and place, they once suppressed.

Comming into *England* with the faire shew of his former Seruices, he professeth future fidelity in himselfe, and aduiseeth (vnder colour of the Countreys peace and quiet) a suppression of the exorbitant Title, and iurisdiction of *Oneale*, which notwithstanding hee after ward assumed and extorted vnto himselfe, though a knowne Bastard, taking aduantage of the loose hand was held vpon the *Irish* in *Wlster*, and the corrupt Governement at that time in the State, as shall in his due time be made manifest, with this profession of Service; and by applying himselfe to the greatest in power, and grace at Court, he gained the *Queenes* fauour, and was created Earle of *Tyrone*: but hereat his ambition was not leuelled, for the name of an Earle was not the thing he aymed at; but, as is mentioned, the barbarous Title of *Oneale*, for he hath beene oft heard to say: I had rather be *Oneale* of *Wlster*, then *Philip* of *Spaine*, who in the *Papists* reckoning, is the greatest Monarch

The Baron of
Donganon
created Earle
of *Tyrone*.

Tyrone his
ambition to
be *Oneale*.

natch of the world: and as *Tirlagh*, then the *Tannist Oneale* grew in weakenesse and impotencie: so this new created Earle did more and more aspire to sit in his roome, within proceſs of time he obtained; so as the Queenes pollicy in making him Earle, to out-countenance the Title of *Oneale*, made him potent to gaine it, and therby to proue the greatest firebrand that euer that Kingdome had.

The *Burkes* repenting their Composition.

Not long after the Composition of *Connaught* before mentioned, some of the *Burkes*, with others of that Prouince better discerning the pollicy of the State then at first, or at least taught to interpret it so, by the perswasion of the Priests, now searing that their vsurped power ouer the people, would bee diminished (preferring power to doe mischiefe in after time, before their present profit and plenty,) fell into counsell and consideration, how they might vndoe the knot the State had almost tyed, and proceeded to a promise of combination to the same effect, whereof the vigilant Gouvernour Sir *Richard Bingham* taking light, aduertised the Depury, and from him receiued aduice, not to prouoke the people, by giuing them any iust occasion of offence; but to try by all faire perswasions and pollitique meanes, that they might be held in obedience, and to perseuer in such courses of conformity, as they had lately yeelded & submitted themselves vnto: for this purpose Commissioners
are

are sent to heare their grieuances, and to yeeld them right vpon their iust demaunds, (but this course indeede, because it argued feare in the State, made them bolder in their practises.) The Commissioners were the Archbishop of *Torne*, the Bishop of *Meatbe*, &c.

A second Commission sent into *Cambray*, to appease the *Burke*.

These Commissioners heard their complaints, which proued most against the Gouernour, and his vnder Officers, somewhat they exhibited for their owne claimes, alledging Interest. They were offered right, and perswaded to obedience, which they promised, but did not long performe: for the matter of their vsurped and customary authority and superiority (being of more value in sound and shewe, then in substance) did so ouer-possesse them, as they not long after entred into a second conspiracy, for the maintenance of that their lawlesse intrusion, which being shaken by the composition, they intended now to hold by force.

And for the better effecting this euill and Trayterous enterprise, they perswaded the *Clandonnells*, *loyces*, and others (that Sir *Richard Bingham* had already taken from them their auncient Liberties, and was ready to doe the like vnto all others in that Prouince, if it were not preuented, and therefore entreated them to ioyne in action of Rebellion for their future Freedome.

Thus they began to assemble, and to gather troopes, amongst whom the sonnes of *Edmond*:

The Burks
enter into an
Insurrection.

Bourke of Castleberry, being many were Partis-
ans, and so entred into an insurrection. This
Edmond, an olde man, was one of the Com-
petitors of the *Mac William Shie*; His sonnes
with *Edmond Kestough Burke*; *Richard Burest*
sonne vnto him, called the *Devils burke*, *Myler*
Oge Burke, *Walter Mac David Barie*, *Caybir*
Mac Connell, and others, associating vnto them
many idle persons their followers, entred a
Castle called *Castle ne Kelly*, manned the same,
and kept it against the Queene, with *Thomas*
Roes Castle, which after his decease was in the
hands and possession of his brother *Richard*
Burke.

Sir Richard
Bingham be-
sieged *Clas*
Owen.

About this time *Mahone O'Bryan* held a Ca-
stle called *Clas Owen* in *Thomond*, against the
State, who was a dangerous and great practi-
zer with forraigne power, for the Inuasion in
Ireland. This Castle the Gouvernour Sir *Richard*
besieged, and after seauen dayes siege
wonncit, and slew *Mahone O'Bryan*. The siege
was all by water in Boates, for it could not
otherwise be attempted, the Castle being lea-
ted farre within the *Lough* vpon a small Island,
where Sir *Richard* going about to burne a
Boate or two belonging to the Rebels, that
lay close to the wall of the Castle, was enfor-
ced with suddaine rising of winde and foule
weather (which much fauoured the Rebell)
to leaue the attempt, with the losse of one or
two of his Boates, and two or three of his

Souldiers:

Souldiers : Himselfe & such as were with him, hardly escaping, by the helpe of other Boates, which came as they were appointed in time to second him. The Boate which he lost, the Rebels got, in which they shipped themselves, and fled into the Woods, before hee could returne to give them a new assault.

This Pile, and another of *Fardaragh Mac Donnell's*, Sir *Richard* razed downe to the ground, as held not fit to be kept by the English, and dangerous to be in the hand of the Irish.

Richard Bourke called the *Ysle of Ireland*, was at *Castell ne Kelly*, hanged by Marshall law. Information being there given, that hee was confederate with the Rebell, and vnder pretext of dutifull obedience, and visitation of the *Gouernour*, intended to betray him and his company.

Richard Bourke
hanged.

The *Burkes* againe gather greater forces, ioyned with their other confederates, and the more to manifest their malice, they murdered fiftene or sixtene of the Officers of *Connanght*, and sent *Edmond Kestangh Burke*, with *John Iselaaga*, brother vnto *Walser Kestangh Burke*, to practise with the *Scottish Islanders*, to draw them thither to their ayde, whereof the Deputy being aduertised, sendeth directions to the *Gouernour*, to raise what Forces hee could in the Prouince for the present, promising to send him supplies with all possible speed,

Some of the
Burkes sent to
call the *Scots*.

The Deputy
promiseth to
come to the
Gouvernour.

A plot to re-
strain him.

speed; and to come himselfe in person, if the
necessity of the Service so required; but there-
in he reckoned without his Host, for his Ad-
uersaries, finding his former successe, to haue
gained him great reputation, whose encrease
might make him too powerfull to be shaken
by their plots, had procured Letters of re-
straint to be sent out of *England*, to prohibite
him to doe any thing, without the assent and
approbation of the Councell.

The Gouvernour with such Forces as were
then in pay in the Prouince, and some other
ayde of the Country began vpon the 12 of *July*
1586, to draw towards the Countie of *Mays*,
and came to *Ballincrobo*, the fourteenth of the
same, where all the Gentlemen best affected in
the Country met him, as the Baile of *Clanri-
hard*, the Lord *Bremicham*, Sir *Hubert Mac Da-
nie Teige*, *Okelly*, with many others. Thither
came the Captaines *Mossion*, *Merryman*, and
Mordant, with their Companies sent by the
Deputy to supply him.

Commissioners are likewise appointed to
parley with the *Burkes*, but could not preuaile:
Whereupon the Gouvernour prosecuted them,
and tooke from them 3 or 4000 Cowes,
whereof 1000 are reserved by the Gouvernour,
towards the defraying of extraordinary char-
ges in that Service; done by him for the easing
of her Maiesties Charge, but reported by his
Aduersaries to be converted to his owne use.

The *Burke*
preyed by the
Gouvernour, &
their Forces
ouerthrowne.

The

The rest were distributed amongst the Forces, in the taking of this prey, were of the Rebels slaine sixe or seauen score, the rest were dispersed, and forced to sue for pardon.

Hereupon the Gouvernour discharged the Kerne, and dismissed the rest of the Forces, all sauing his owne Horse, and three Companies of Foote.

Euston Mac Odonnell, chiefe of the *Gallaglasses*, made his submission, and gaue his sonne in Pledge for himsele and his Sept.

The chiefe of the *Gallaglasses* make their submission.

Edmond Bourke, Mac Richard Euerren, (sonne to the last *Mac William* but one) gaue his sonne for Pledge in like manner: But the sonnes of *Edmond Burke of Castlebury*, persisted in Rebellion, purposing to make their Father, *Mac William*, wherein they continued, till their Father was Executed, by the course of common Law; so done, that his Lands might bee excheated to the Crowne, being of good value, which could not haue beene, if he had dyed by Marshall law. After whose death, his sonnes offered to submit themselues, vpon condition of restitution of their Fathers Lands, which the Gouvernour referred to the Lord Deputies resolution and pleasure.

Edmond Burke of Castlebury executed.

As the *Bourkes* (by the well aduised & quick prosecution of the Gouvernour) were reduced to a lowe estate (fewe of them being now able to make head:) newes came that the *Scottish Islanders* were arriued in the *North*, being drawn by

The *Scottish Islanders* land.

Edmond & John Burke afore-mentioned, in the name of all the rest of the Sept of *Burkes*, to invade vpo condition of hauing part of that Province to inhabite in, after the expelling of the *English* by their ayde and assistance. The number of these Inuadors were vncertaine, being by some estimated to be 2700, and by others little about 1600, being perhaps made more then they were by the hope of the Rebells, and feare of the Country. Vpon their landing, they marched speedily, as farre as the Riuer of *Earne*, towards *Sligo*.

Of this newes, (hindering the peace of *Connaught* for the present) the Deputy was by Sir *Richard Bingham* aduertised, withall that hee had not sufficient power to resist so great a number as these Inuadors, with the Rebels their Assistants were, neither durst he rely vpon the ayde of the Prouinciall Lords and Gentlemen, who for the most part were allyed to the Rebells *Burkes*, the Inducers of this Inuasion, to which he receiued answer from the Deputy, to the same effect hee had formerly receiued vpon the first making Head by the *Burkes*.

Vpon this the Gouvernours intelligence, it was debated in Councell at *Dublin*, whether the Deputy should goe in person, with such power as could be there provided, to assist the Gouvernour, which the forward Deputy alledged, to be most necessary, for the better counte-

2000

The Gouvernour durst not trust the *Irish* of the Province.

countenancing of the action, since his presence was most likely to disunite the Rebelle from the Inuador, (as it had formerly done in *Wlster*) and so make the Warre more easie. Hereto much opposition was giuen by some of the Councell, and those not of the meanest: so as that the more earnest he was to vndertake the enterprise, the more stiffe they were to withstand it, alledging for their reasons, that the number of the Inuadors were not so great as was reported; and therefore it was inconuenient to put the Queene to such a charge, as an Army would require to attend the Deputy in person: Neuerthelesse, the Deputy with some of the Councell, sought to perswade the contrary, considering Sir *Richard Bingham*s diffidence in the assistance of that Country people, the weakenesse of his Forces there (especially *English*) the number of the Inuadors being certainly knowne to be about 1600, besides the daily supplies of the euill affected *Irish*, so as it could not but be dangerous, not onely to that Prouince, but to the whole Kingdome, to hazard a farre greater charge after, by the sparing a little now. Besides, the not taking time which is the mother of good successe; but celerity one of the strongest sinewes of action, was not vnderstood by Clergy men and Lawyers; to one of which professions delay breeds profit, and the other were contented, any mischiefe might be hazarded; so as their owne

The Deputy
and Councell
differ about
his Iourney to
Gloucester.

The Councell
conclude the
Deputy shall
not goe in per-
son, of which
hee complaineth
to the
Queene.

ends might bee atchieued, who well knew
withall, that the sauing of Charge would
make a strong excuse in *England*, for any er-
rour might happen thereby, which proui-
dence proued alwayes improvidence, & begot
much mischief in the Warres of *Ireland*: so it
was concluded (the greatest numbers of voy-
ces carrying the resolution) that the Deputy
should not goe himselfe in this Expedition,
nor send any extraordinary force, vntill the
sequell, should expresse the necessary encrease
of her Maiesties Charge; wherewith the De-
puty being much discontented, and finding
himselfe limited to their opinion, complaineth
himselfe to the Queene, and some of her prin-
cipall Councillours, That his Authority (for-
merly allowed, both by Patent, and the pra-
ctise of his Predecessours in that place) was
not a little abridged vpon some suggestions (as
he conceiued) of his euill-willers, who to work
his disgrace and discontentment, had enfor-
med many things amisse of him, which were
the motives of this vnexpected or vnderfettered
restriction. And in this particular Seruice, he
expresseth his grieve, that the *Inuading* Ilan-
ders, being, as *Sir Richard Bingham* in one Let-
ter aduertised, aboue two thousand, and there-
fore craved spedy ayde: And in a second,
being doubtfull of his Prouincialls, request
English to bee sent vnto him, hee found it
perillous, the Governour and his small force
should

should be hazarded in this Streight; besides, the chiefe Charge of the Governement lying vpon him as Deputy, who was to encounter all eminent accidents of danger; for the prevention of which, he had at this time a purpose to goe himsele in person, knowing that his presence, besides the power hee should bring with him, would haue given countenance to the worke, strengthened the good Subiect, settled the fickle, and secured not onely that Province, but others thereabouts; yet he was restrained by most of the Councell, as by their opinions vnder their handes did appeare, and must abide at home whatsoeuer should happen; whence (as hee conceined) must needes growe contempt of his Governement in the *English*, and disobedience in the *Irish*. Hee therefore declareth plainly, that notwithstanding this Tye vpon him by direction, if hee found any manifest danger to the State, which hee greatly feared, hee would rather vndertake a iourney without the Councels allowance (though to his owne perill and preiudice) then hazard both that Province, and consequently the peace of that Kingdom, by sitting still, when there was most need of his stirring.

By this time the Ilanders being ioyned with the *Bourkes* and others, who flocked fast vnto them, resolved to enter into *Connaght*; their Force now amounting to almost 3000.

The Deputies resolution against his restraint.

The Gouvernor
dispatcheth
the Earle of
Clanrickard, &
then goeth in
person him-
selfe against
the *Scotts*.

Sir Richard Bingham at the first, either to settle things in the safest manner he could; or to gather more force, being in expectation to receive speedy supplement from the State, went not with all his strength against them, perhaps knowing himselfe ynable to encounter so many, and being not thoroughly assured of such as should come to serve him of the *Irish* Forces raised there, dispatched the Earle of *Clanrickard*, (in whom he reposed good confidence) and in respect of his faith and worthinesse had good reason, with some fewe Horse, and three Companies of Foote, ioyned with his brother *George Bingham*, then Shireffe of the County of *Sligo*, who had lately leauied some Shot and Horsemen, before the comming of the Earle.

They being thus vnited, were directed to stand vpon their Guard, and to coast the Enemy as he should maich.

Sir Richard himselfe speedily hasteth after, and commeth to *Sligo*, and in his way at the Abby of *Aboylehe*, found *Sir Thomas LeStrange* with the Rising out of the Country, whom he left to defend those parts. At *Sligo* he was informed, that the Islanders lay still at the River of *Earne*, some on one side, and some on the other, that *Sir Arse Oneale*, and *Sir Hugh McGuire*, had sent them ayde, so that their number was much encreased.

The comming of the Governour to *Sligo*, and the pacification of the County of *Nayo* being

being bruted, made their aboade the longer about the River of *Earne* and *Bundroy*, to expect more ayde from their Confederates, and to procure that some new stire might be raised within the Country, whereby the Governour might be enforced to detuide his forces.

The Governour on the other side lay at *Sli-go*, and the *Curlews* about fourteene dayes, expecting supply from the Deputy. In the meane time the Enemy drawes on by little and little through *Orarke*s Country towards the *Curlews*, with intention to passe that way into *Mayo*. And one night prouing darke and tempestuous, they passed on that way neere Sir *Richards* Forces, who vpon notice they were a foote, drew out to see their countenance, and came so neere, as himselfe being Armed vnder his Caslock, was shotte with many Arrowes, that hurt him not. They passed on, seeming yet vnwilling to give him Fight, (which in respect of his small force, gaue him the aduantage of discerning their fearefulnesse) and escaped by a Foard vnknowne.

The Sea passed by Sir *Richards* forces.

Sir *Richard* with his Company marched into the Barony of *Magherie Leany*, chiefly to preserve the prey of that Country; from thence he marched through the Plaines, a way contrary to the passage of the Enemy, which this aduised Captaine did on purpose to breed their security. At length there came some Companies of Foot, and fifty Horse sent from the

Supply is sent from the Deputy to the Governour,

A good Stragem
of the
Gouernours,

the Deputy to supply him, before their arrivall, and vpon opinion that Sir *Richard* was retired; The enemy being incamped at *Ardenrey*, proclaymed that the Countrey was theirs, and that the Gouernour was returned in feare to *Roscomon*, and that all his forces had forsaken him, which Sir *Richard* caused to be reported to them as a truth; and suddenly so soone as he knew their abroad, and that they were growne secure, marcheth with speed and encamped within twelue miles of them, whence he rose before breake of day, and came within two miles of their Campe, before nine of the Clocke in the Morning, with his Horse, where he made a stand a while, for the coming vp of the Foote; then passed on with such silence & celerity, as he approached their Campe within halfe a mile before they knew any thing of his coming; assuring themselves by rumours, that hee durst not attempt them: so that his Scouts, which he had sent before to discover how they were lodged, fell in vpon them v unexpected, and gave them a fearefull Alarume; who being thus surprised, standing without any guard, did nevertheless, strue to make head; but Sir *Richard* charging, and recharging them with his Horse, kept them in disorder, which they assayed to amend, by drawing toward the Bogg, where they might auoide the force of the Horse, but Sir *Richard* knowing before that hee

he should drive them to that shift, had sent his brother Captaine *John Bingham* with the Foot to approach them that way; who meeting them, they were charged both in Front and Flank, which quickly disordered them wholly, and so broken, were soone dismayed, and put to rout; neither did hee leave them any place of safety to flye vnto, but forced them to take the Riuer where such as were not slaine by the sword were drowned, none escaping of about 3000, excepting some fourescore, part of who were slaine by *George Bingham*, and the rest by their friends the *Burkes*, that had drawne them thither, who thought that the best meanes to insinuate with the State, by such being the reward which the partaker of Treason may expect from the Traytor, yet a few, some 6 or 7 escaped by the wily conduct of *Shane Mac an Erle*, a Bastard of the Earle of *Kildares*.

Before this discomfiture was giuen, the Deputy fearing the Governours strength, was not great enough to encounter the Enemy, in respect of their number, (which indeede had not beene, if hee had beene an ordinarie Commaunder, and not so iudicious and experienced a Captaine, as fewe of his time was like him) raised more power, and marching towards *Connaught*, notwithstanding the Councels opposition, but by the way, being come as farre as *Mullingar*, he heard of their defeat by Sir *Richard Bingham*, when

The Scots defeated.

The Deputy
discontented,
that he came
not time e-
nough to o-
perthrow the
Scots himselfe.

it was a question whether hee were more glad that the Service to her Maiesty was performed, or sorrie that himselfe in person was prevented of the honour thereof; which doubtlesse besides the greatnesse of his spirit, for other causes he much desired, as well to manifest the Counceils error in dissuading his journey, as to satisfie his friends in *England* of the necessity thereof; so as he could not chuse but emulate the Governours good successe; who on the other side made the more speed in his businesse, not onely to gaine the honour, but to shew the State, the benefit of his long experience.

By this victory, whereby the bed of Rebellion was in that Prouince, at that time broken. The Deputy had lesse cause to make any long aboade there, where hee remained but tenne dayes, taking order for such affaires, as the present State of the Country, and particular mens causes and controuerfies did require: wherein he made the more speede for the ease of the *Queenes* Charge, vpon which providence, most vnwisely, his ignorant Aduersaries through malice, insisted, for much more time might otherwise to good purpose haue beene spent, in rooting out the originall cause of this Inuasion; and securing the after time of any the like Confederacy. But all things being now whist, and no commotion at that time appearing, the Deputy retired to *Dublin*, to
answere

answere his Adueraries deuises against him, there being now matter given them to worke on, by his vncontroulable departure thence.

The third Information against the Deputy.

There the Deputy bent his course to satisfie all the Subjects in their iust complaints, amongst which some private Iniuries were alledged to be done in the County of *Canaan*, by the Collectours of the *Queenes Rents*. The Examination and Writing whereof, was by Commission referred to Sir *Henry Duke*, and others.

The Tenants of the seuerall Baronies within the said County, exhibited their seuerall complaints against *Patrick White*, and *William Brataugh*, Collectours; most of the offences alledged were triuiall, as the taking of distresses, being of greater value then their Rents amounted to, with the laying more Cels, for Horsemen and Boyes, vpon the Country, (which did accompany the Collectors & their Sericants) then was meete for that Service.

Complaints in the County of *Canaan* redressed.

These things being examined, and the proofes returned by the Commissioners, the Deputy, though he saw them to be but of small moment: yet he gaue order for the Complainers satisfaction, with expresse Charge for the no more committing of such oppression, which ministred good contentment vnto the Country.

Shortly after, vpon like complaint the like Commission was directed vnto certaine Iustices

Complaint a-
gainst Francis
Lawell Sheriffe
in the County
of Kilkenny.

of the Peace, in the County of Kilkenny, vpon allegation made by the Earle of Ormonds Officers against Francis Lawell, Sheriffe of that County, that he should execute & put to death by Marshall law diuers persons, out of malice and euill will, for his owne private gaine, who were out of the compasse of Marshall law, ha- uing both Lands and Goods, whereunto the Queene might haue bin entitiled vpon due of- fence, if proceeding against them had beene at the common law, whose goods he had gotten into his owne possession, to the defrauding of her Maiesty: Withall that he had omitted the apprehension of diuers Malefactors, such as were notorious disturbers of the Country and common peace.

To which Cõmission the Deputy added in- struction to the Iustices, who were to examine the particular complaints, and all parties there- vpon, & to returne the proofes produced (with their proceedings therein, by a certain prefixed time, vnder their hands closely sealed, that they should carrie themselves iustly and sincerely, with especiall care to auoyde exception. This was accordingly performed, the Sheriffe being present, & the Earles Officers appointed their time to bring their witnesses.

At which time the persons names, their of- fences, abilities, and qualities examined, who had beene executed by Marshall law: the Iu- ric found that the parties so put to death, were
justly

justly proceeded against, and not maliciously, as was enformed, they being Vagabonds, having no Goods or Lands: Sabe onely one *Patrick Beg Baron*, who at his Execution, was possessed of some small things rated at a very little value; whereof part was restored vnto the true owners from whom they were stolne, and the rest being but of the value of twenty shillings, were deuided betweene the Sheriffe and his Officers.

They found likewise that the Sheriffe had not omitted to doe his endeour, for the apprehension of any notorious malefactor, or receiued any reward; but prooffe was offered of a gift given to the Sheriffs wife, to perswade her husband not to prosecute a Carpenter, who was charged to lodge one *Pierre Grace*, a man then out in action of Rebellion. The booke of Articles exhibited against the Sheriffe, with his seuerall answers, was shewed vnto *Hen. Sheath*, the Earle of *Ormonds* Steward, and he willed to consider thereof, that he might enforme the Iury, and prouide his proofes; but he refused, alledging he had not sufficient time so to doe: whereupon the Iury returned their verdit, and the Commissioners sent the same, with their proceedings vnto the Deputy, who vpon perusall thereof, finding no cause to condemne, but to cleare the Sheriffe, signified so much vnto the Earle of *Ormond*; and withall, that hee was glad to see an English Gentleman, as *Louell* was, seruing in that Country,

Francis Louell
cleared.

especially in that Office, charged with so great abuses, to acquite himselfe so well.

The Deputy
and the Earle
of Ormond at
odds,

This with some other such passages, (which did crosse the Earles Officers, vsing absolute, and in a manner, unlimited Authority in their Masters Dominions, especially in the next County adioyning, which was his *Palatine*) bred some dislike betweene the Earle and the Deputy, which in time grew to a heart-burning, though in former time they had bene ancient and inward friends, but now the profit and command of the one being questioned by the Authority of the other, conuerted friendship into enmity.

Though at this time there were a generall tranquillity through the Kingdom of Ireland, yet it could not bee but some corrosiues must remaine harboured in the mindes of men, either misliking good gouernement, which tended to the diminution of their owne powers, or envying the Authority of others over them, or caried away with personall quarrels, or particular respects, which would easily enduce an attempting spirit to breake the bond of peace and loyall duty.

Walter Brough
entring into
Rebellion,

Of such at this time one *Walter Brough Fitz Morice*, a *Geraldine*, but not of the right line, (degenerating from the race he pretended to be descended of) entred into a small Rebellion. This man vpon some great discontent, and an euill disposition in himselfe, with as bad an affection

affection to the State, associated to him a company of lewd and filching people, then committing stratagies in the Country. With these he betooke himselfe to the Woods and Bogs, being the fastnesses of the Counties, *Kilkenny, Wexford,* and some parts of *Leix*. His party in short time increased by the resort vnto him of some of the *Oburnes* and *Toules*, with whom one night by force he entered the house of *Labin Asman*, dwelling in the *Morroughs* County whom they murdered, and preyed of all the Cattell, Sheepe, and Goods he had about his house, which murder and spolie was suspected to proceede from the Conspiracie of some discended of the *English*, who vpon private grudge and malice had drawne the Rebels to fall vpon him; vpon examination wherof some were apprehended as culpable. *Walter Rugh* himselfe was so straightly pursued (by the Deputies speciall direction) as from thence hee was enforced to flye to the Mountaines, where he endured great misery; yet in the end vpon his humble and earnest sute, putting in pledges for his future loyalty, hee obtayned pardon.

About this time Commissioners were sent out of *England*, to deuide *Desmunds* Lands, which after an exact suruay made of all the Lands, were deuided into Signories and halfe Signories, and disposed to diuers personages of good quality of the Kingdome of *England* but

Walter Rugh
was pardoned.

Walter Rugh
was pardoned.

Walter Rugh
pardoned.

The deuision
of *Desmunds*
Lands into
Signories.

but in this the Deputy had no hand, which, as he had cause, he took to be a discountenance to his Authority, and Place, wherein hee felt the Queenes displeasure.

A Regiment
of Irish sent
with Sir Wil-
liam Stanley
into the Low-
Countries.

Order for the
casting of the
Forces in Fl-
sher.

Not long before, a thousand of the *Irish* were sent into the *Low Countries*, vnder the command of Sir William Stanley, by an especial direction out of England, and at the same time, order came to the Deputy for the cashiering of the *Flsher* Forces, which the Deputy had raised by Composition, as is formerly mentioned: Two acts, as pernicious, as that time could afford, to the publique Service, as the sequell made manifest, for the first not onely proued the losse of a worthy Gentleman, who had valiantly and successfully served in that Kingdome. Hee meeting in the *Low Countries* with sharper conceits then his owne, and finding him ignorantly wauering betweene two Religions, fastned him to the worse, and consequently made him to the State, a Traytor; against whom he hath since done great mischief, prouing one of the best Captaines vnder the Spaniards Command. Besides, those *Irish* that went with him, haue beene a Seminary of Traytors to this that Kingdome, of whom some yet liue to threaten no lesse hereafter.

And the other, those Forces in *Flsher* so cast, was not onely the pulling of the bridle from the heads of those inconstant people, which

no sooner off, but they ranne headlong againe into new practises, but likewise proued a terrible charge to her Maiestie in ensuing time; as more particularly shall be expressed in the storie following, yet the chiefe reason alledged, for their disbanding was the ease of the Queenes charge, who was enformed, that it was a needlesse thing to keepe Garrisons in time of peace; and this burthen layd vpon the Country, would in time breake the peoples obedience in those parts, where they began already to grudge.

Thus much the Queene signified in a Letter, partly written with her owne hand, vnto which shee was wrought by such as were aduerser to the Deputy, and desirous to weaken his worke in that Kingdome, whose enuies were set the more on fire by the wily trickes of *Tyrone*, who tooke this opportunity to lay the foundation of his ensuing rebellion; finding their hearts bent to vse all meanes that might extenuate the Deputies merit, and weaken his Governement.

This Letter of the Queenes, as it raised wonder in the Deputy, knowing it tasted not off her high Iudgement; so it gaue griefe to him to see such preposterous Councils take effect against his faithfull endeours, which hee tooke occasion to expresse by his Letter, vpon the dispatch of Sir *William Stanley*, where in he signified he had performed her Maiesties pleasure,

The Deputies
Letters by Sir
William Stanley
to the
Queene and
Councell.

pleasure, but could not suppress his griefe, nor in duty conceale that, which he conceived would prove perillous to her Service, and disgracefull to himselfe in that place of Authority, he held vnder her Maiestie, especially for removing the Garrison of the North so soone in a State so vnsettled. And although the submission of the Chieftes, with the generall obedience of the people, did seeme to promise nothing but peace, yet considering the attempts of her Maiesties forraigne Forces, and the sicklenesse of that people (newly brought to a shewe of conformity) hee could not assure their loyalties, much lesse establish such things as he had begun, and further intended for the good, and advancement of her Maiesties service, and that these Souldiers being thus cashiered (who were a tye vpon such as had mindes to be troublesome) which were 900, her Maiesty being at charge but of little more then 200 pound a yeare, the rest being borne by the Country. So that now her charge being reduced to the rate it was at his coming to the Gouvernement, before the raising of Forces, to resist them that did rebell, and invade *Wylster*; he wished that this saving did not prove an after spending of greater summes, with more perill to Her and her Country.

The Deputy writeth to be recalled from the gouernment, or admitted to the Queenes presence,

He likewise wrote after his plaine and passionate manner to the Queene, that her sharpe reprehension, and restraint of his gouernment, with

with some taxe layde on his iudgement, made him now stand to the world, vnfit (as hee alwayes conceiued of himselfe) to manage the weighty affaires of such a place, and therefore he besought her that shee would be pleased to reuoke him thence, or at the least to lycence his accessse vnto her presence, as well for answering the calumniationes of his Aduersaries, as to discouer some things for the furtherance of her seruice in that Kingdome, proffering (if her Maiesty were so pleased) to bring with him the Lords, and chiefe Irish Commanders of that Country: so that shee would be pleased to disburse 3000 pound, ready for them to receiue at their landing in *England*, to defray their charges (they being owners of much Land and Cattell, but not of money) which should bee repayed at reasonable prices in Beefes, for her Maiesties profit in the payment of her Forces there. This hee thought would make much for the furtherance of her Maiesties seruice, since the chiefe men of that Kingdome comming over in that sort, should take their Lands by such tenure, as her Highnesse should prescribe, whereof diuers of them had already made offer vnto him. Besides, it would be a greater honour vnto her, to haue more of the greatest and wildest Chieftaines of Countreies in *Ireland*, to prostrate themselves and their estate, at her Maiesties feet and pleasure in *England*, then euer had bene perform-

The Deputies
offer to bring
ouer the Irish
Lords.

The Deputies
offer silenced.

med to any of her Noble predecessours. But this complaint and offer so made vnto the Queene, was silenced, and tooke little effect, either through the vnderhand-working of the Deputies Adversaries, or else through the presse and multitude of weighty affaires then in hand in *England*; to defend the *Netherlands*, and to prevent Inuasion, with other perils threatened to her Maiestie and her Dominions, which might perhaps put out of minde, or at least, set back for the time, the consideration of that, which at this season did most concerne *Ireland*.

Within short time after, the Companies of Souldiers were remoued out of *Kilfer*; save such as remained with *Tirlagh Leynaugh* at his request.

1587

A stir in the
North vpon
the casting of
the Forces.

Some of the Northerne Lords tooke occasion and opportunity hereby, to shew their willingnesse to doe euill, rather then be idle; now they sawe the force was gone which was wont to rule their disorders. Amongst which, dislike and complaints were moued by *Macquire* against *Mac Mahon*, and the Earle of *Tyrone* for trespasses, and supposed wrongs to be offered. *Sir Oconnor Macquire* being behindehand for his Composition, and charged with doing some things amisse, was sent to, by the Deputy, and required to performe what was meete for him to doe, or else to repaire vnto his presence, to answer these contempts; which

which message was sent vnto him by Sir *Henry Duke*, who appoints him a place of meeting; *Marquize* writeth vnto the Lord Deputy, and excuseth his coming to Sir *Henry*, according to his appointment, being hindered by sicknesse, and the infirmity of the Gowre, complayneth on the Earle of *Tyrone*, and *Mac Mahone*, desiring him not to beleue complaints against him, and offereth to double the pldges, hee had put in, if any doubt were had of his good disposition to the State.

Mac Mahone likewise exhibites his agrecuance against *Tyrone*, for Ceasing in his Countrey, and compelling him to maintaine Horsemen for him, as if hee had beene tributary to the Earle, which cause the Lord Deputy heard and determined, freeing *Mac Mahone* from any such duty as the Earle demanded.

The rest being but complaints (of which the Kingdome is neuer free) and no practices to draw dangerous consequence to the State (yet discovered) were onely appeased by admonition.

Besides these, Sir *Bryan Orourke*, the Lord of *Larim*, and Sir *Richard Bingham*, the Gouernours of *Connaght*, grewe into dislike one with the other, the one being strict in his Gouernement, the other not willing to bee severely continuanded, Sir *Bryan* wrote

Contention
betweene Or-
ourke and Sir
Richard Bing-
ham.

vnto the Deputy, that hee had wrongs and indignities done him, being often summoned by Sir *Richard*, to goe before *George Bingham* his brother, and Captaine *Thomas Woodhouse*, to answer as well complaints, as to take directions, which hee held to be a disparagement to him, and to auoyde that inconueniencie, was forced to forsake his Iland; the place of his dwelling, and to wander vpon the hills, which he would not doe, but for the care of performing his promise, to be obedient vnto his Prince, otherwise he said, he would deale well enough with those men, and meete Sir *Richard* and his brethren with the same measure they measured him, therefore in as much as hee meant to doe nothing against her Maiestie, he desired they might be kept from him, for he would not goe to them, but in the Deputies presence, whose Commandements hee would in all things else performe, and craveth of him that peace might be kept with him in the Prouince of *Conaught*, as he doth with them, to which the Deputy returned answer, requiring him to yeeld conformity in all things reasonable to the Queenes Officers, and if any wrongs were offered him, not to right himselfe by resistance or reuenge, but to make it knowne, and he should receiue redresse. He likewise wrote vnto the Gouverneur, aduising him to vse a gentle hand in the dealing with *Orarks*, and people of his quality, men of such fierce

The Deputy
 admonisheth
 both,

fierce dispositions and natures, being with roughnesse handled, would easily be excited to the breach of obedience, which might proue a charge to the State, and a disquiet to the Country. This admonition Sir *Richard* tooke somewhat vnkindly, as a mislike of his Gouvernement, and resistant of his proceedings against *Orourke*, and did not stick to tell the Deputy afterward at the Councell Table, that his Lordship gave countenance to *Orourke*, vnto the diminution of his Authority in that Prouince. So difficult it was for the Deputy to appease or reconcile a difference betweene so stout a Commander, and so factious and rebellious a spirit being powerfull. The Governour being perswaded out of his iudgement, that it was now time to prosecute *Orourke* while the *Beaumes* were yet weary of their late struggling, so as standing without partakers, hee would the more surely fall, or at least bee brought with more facility to the path of obedience, being the onely man now to be doubted in that Prouince, hauing in his possession the strongest and fastest Country there. And it is not vnlikely but the Deputy would haue ioynd with him therein, if he had not had private reasons to the contrary, arising from the present question of his actions in *England*, and his desire and sute to be reuoked thence, which were things onely knowne to himselfe.

These distempers now yet but flashes, which were

were kindled by discontent, were quenched by care and prouidence, and had they not beene well met within time, would haue growne to greater flames of commotion, and did afterwards arise againe, for want of like circumspection in the succeeding Government, which argued both the wisdom of the Governour, who would haue taken the time to take away the cause, and the preuailing power in the Deputy, euen in the worst Subjects hearts, to make them conformable against their natures.

A rumour of
the Deputies
remoue,

While the Deputy was busie, to prevent perils which might growe by heart burnings within his Governement: Some of his Adversaries were as deeply trauailed to procure his disquiet and disgrace. Amongst other inuentions, Reports were raised, that hee should presently be reuoked, and another sent in his place, being a thing not as yet thought on in *England*, whereof so soone as hee had notice, though he esteemed them but as rumours, yet hee tooke occasion to reueue his suite vnto the Queene for his remouing: And besought her, if such were her pleasure, which hee humbly desired, and shewed reasons for such his desire, that yet her Highnesse would suppress the opinion, and publishing thereof, vntill his successour should be ready to come ouer, because he knew by experience, that the wauering and worst sort of people in that Kingdome, were apt

apt to take aduantage (vpon the alteration of the chiefe Gouvernour, especially in the Interim of his Gouvernment, if they had notice before hand) to stirre vp troubles in the State.

The Gentlemen of the *English Pale* in loue with his Iustice and vpright Gouvernment, were much troubled at this newes, of whom diuers of the better sort of *Plunbeets, Flemmings, Barnewells, Bellets, Cusacks, Delahides, Taasi, Nangles*, and others of good account, to the number of 67, wrote a ioynt Letter to the Noble men their neighbours, of the notice they had taken, of the remouing the present Lord Deputy from that Gouvernment, whom they therein testified to haue governed with Iustice, care, and prouidence, for the good of that Kingdome, whereby they had enioyed much peace and prosperity: for the truth wherof they appealed vnto them, whom they besought as they tendered the welfare of their Countrey, to bee a meanes vnto the Queenes Maiesty for the retayning and continuing him in that Gouvernment, to perfect what hee had begun, and was likely to bring vnto a good end, if he remained amongst them.

The Lords of the *English Pale* vpon receite of this Letter, though many of them (as is said) had beene wrought to write against the Deputie, yet now acknowledging the

R

same

The Gentlemen of the *English Pale* stirre vp the Lords to write to the Queene for the stay of Sir John Perrot in that gouernment.

same the Gentry did, wrote a particular Letter, which they sent unto the Queen, desiring the continuance of the present Deputy amongst them, giving him all the specious attributes, could be yeelded an extraordinary Patron of that poore Country, some of them (as is already mentioned) recanting their error of accusing him of heavy and tyrannous courses, now called him the Father of that poore Kingdome, setting forth his father-like care for the vniuersall tranquillity, and the administration of particuler Iustice.

These Letters though they needed not, for as yet there was no Intention of his calling thence; yet they gaue a sharpe blowe to his Aduersaries, whose informations must needs be suspected to proceede onely out of malice; since the parties that most felt the good and euill of Gouvernement, gaue this testimony of him, which they did in respect of the feare they had of his remoue (being so bruted, as well in approbation of his actions, as to prevent the mischiefes which might happen by his going thence; the smart whereof they were like to feele. The Copie of this Letter is yet extant.

The Cause
may shew
the cause of
the Rebellion.

About this time *Donnogh Mac Murrough Cananagh*, and *Murrough Oge Mac Murrough Cananagh*, lately revolted from their obedience, made humble submission to the Deputy, shewing the cause of their reuolt, as the killing of
their

their Father by Sir *Dudleigh Bagnall*, and *Heron* whom they slewe. His not permitting them to live on the Lands given by Sir *Peter Carew* vnto their Father, pursuing and forcing them to flye vnto the Woods, in which pursuit he was slaine. They craue pardon and offer Service, shewing who they were that procured Mr. *Bagnall* and *Heron* to kill their Father, and to banish them *Art Cormagh Mac Anispeck*, *Conolagh Mac Gilpatrick*, with other their Followers and Companions.

While the Deputies care concurr'd with the peoples good liking, did prevent many mischiefs like to ensue. The practise of such as he had displeased, by crossing their courses and vndue proceedings, did not cease to worke his trouble and disquiet. Amongst whom the Earle of *Ormond* was now become one that laboured by secret information, to incense the Queene against him, which procured from her and in her name sharpe reprehensions, which did much disquiet him, and provoked his cholericke and passionate nature to offend and exceede himselfe, for being vexed with indignities and conceived iniuries, hee could not forbear to speake, and sometimes to write as rarely, as he found himselfe dealt withall.

And now thinking himselfe wounded in his reputation, he wrote to the Queene her selfe, shewing againe how hie was disabled to doe

The Earle of
Ormond en-
formes against
the Deputy,

The Deputy
writeth againe
to the Queene
for his re-
mour.

her Service, and dishonoured by her beliefe of his vniust Aduersaries, their pra-
isises and suggestions: Hee prayeth lycence
to repaire vnto her Presence for aunsw-
ring of his Accuser, and that hee might be
remooued from that vnfortunate Gouverne-
ment;

He likewise wrote vnto the Earle of *Leyce-*
ster, who (much fauoured him) protesting in
plaine manner, that rather then hee would
liuethere to bee so vexed in minde, crossed
in his best intended courses, and brought in-
to the Queenes displeasure, hee would take
on him *George* the Chimney sweepers place
at Court (those being his words) and there-
fore vrgeth his helpe for his remoouall, or
leauē to come vnto the Queene: but that
Earle then engaged in the Action of the
Lowe-Countries, wherein all his power
was sette a worke, could not yeeld him
that helpe, his loue would otherwise haue af-
forded.

Contention
betweene the
Earle of *Ty-*
rone and di-
uers *Visser*
Lords, pre-
ying one vpon
another.

Diuers dislikes, and some disturbance of the
publique, began betwixt *Tirlogh Leynaugh*
Oneale, and the Earle of *Tyrone*, for whereas
formerly there had beene a deuision of the
Lands in *Visser*, challenged to belong to
Oneale, deuided betwixt them both, and of la-
ter time *Tirlogh Leynaugh* had beene drawne
by composition to take a thousand Markes
Rent by the yeare of the Earle, to be payed

at

at foure Feasts, for certaine Landes during some yeares. Now *Tirlagh Leynaugh* complaineth, that the Earle did not onely refuse the payment of this Rent, but had committed outrages on himselfe and his people, hauing taken diuers preyes out of his Country, terrified his Tenants, and had enticed diuers of them from him and his Lands: whereof hee writeth particularly by sundry Letters vnto the Deputy, shewing his vnwillingnesse to breake the Queenes peace, desireth order may be taken for the returne of his Tenants, and their goods, with satisfaction for his men slaine, and such Rent as the Earle was indebted to him.

These complaints being by the Deputy sent to *Tyrone*, he maketh answer, that first for *Tirlaghs* Tenants, that since *Tirlagh* was not able to restraine his people from annoyng his Tenants, hee was not to refuse any that would come from *Tirlagh* to liue vnder him: denieth any killing or preying vpon *Tirlagh*, his men or Country by him or his men for the arreare of Rent due or claymed to bee due, hee partly denyeth, and partly euades the payment.

In the meane time while these complaints were exhibited, and answers expected: more outrages begunne betweene them and their followers, and new violences were offered before the olde could be redressed, for *Tirlagh*

being growne olde, and forsaken by many of his followers, either for want of protection from *Tirlagh*, or feare of the Earles entreating greatnesse, *Tyrone* giues another blowe to *Tirlagh*, by taking a prey of 2000 Cowes, with many Mares and Garons, from Sir *Arte Oneale* *Tirlaghs* sonne, whereof the Deputy being aduertised, sent to *Tyrone* what was enformed, and to require him, both to forbear further acts of hostility, and to restore what had been so taken from *Tirlaghs* sonne or his Tennants, to which the Earle maketh answer by accusing Sir *Arte Oneale*, to haue taken a prey from his people, at his last being at *Dublin*, and instead of restitution which he demaunded, sent the Earle defiance, when he required peace to be obserued. Sir *Arthur Oneale* affirmed on the other side, that the Earles brother *Carmagh* tooke a prey first from some of his men, who in recovering of their losse, tooke the like from his, for which *Tyrone* spoyled him and his followers, of a farre greater value as hee complained.

The Deputy looking vpon the danger of these brawles, contentions, and spoyles, sendeth two Messengers called *Bynion* and *Bremicham*, with Letters and streight commaundements vnto *Tirlagh* and his sonne, and to the Earle of *Tyrone*, charging them vpon their loyalties vnto the ir Soueraigne, to forbear all attempts of violence and reuenge one towards another,

another, and to the Earle he signified, that if it were true that he had received some iniuries at the hands of Sir *Arthur Onale*; yet it could not be lawfull, that he should be a revenger of his owne wrongs, and if he had sustained any such damage as hee pretended, hee had being his owne caruer, over-recompenced himselfe for the prejudice done vnto him. Therefore hee againe requires him to make restitution of such goods as did exceede the value of what had beene so taken from his followers, and that he would thence-forth take warrant from the State for his doings; so should it be safer for him and his, and for the better ordering of this difference, hee would shortly send Commissioners which should render vnto each one his owne. This for a time did qualifie their contentions.

But shortly after, *Tyrone* (finding that Peace would be no way to that which he aspired vnto) vpon further pretence of iniurie done to him by *Tirlogh*, and his followers, maketh an in-roade into his Country, and entred with force as farre as *Strabane*, *Tirloghs* Towne and place of abode, where Captaine *Mastian* and *Parker*, with their Companies, remained for *Tirloghs* defence; they with such power as *Tirlogh* could make, charged *Tyrone* and his troupes, and forced him to flye.

Odonnell set on by *Tyrone* (as *Tirlogh* affirmed) began to quarrell, and offer violence to

Tirlogh,

Tyrone beaten
by the *English*
Companies at
Strabane.

Odonnell de-
nies to enter-
taine a She-
riff.

Tirlogh, and to manifest his Trayterous disposition to the State, denied to entertaine the Sheriffe sent into *Tirconnell*, lately made a County, seconding it with other signes of disloyalty.

The Deputy
and Councell
certifie their
suspicion of
Tyrone, desire
order out of
England.

The Deputy and Councell, seeing what mischief now begun to growe by the casting the Northerne Garrison, giuing way to *Tyrone*s aspiring, certifies into *England* his practises, as well in stirring vp priuate quarrels, the fore-runners of Rebellion, as his sending to *Agnes Mac Connell*, a principall Chiefe of the Inuading Ilanders, certaine of his men, conditioning with him to receiue such ayde and supplies from him againe, when hee should neede them, or vpon occasion require them, and his desire to be *Oneale*, clayming the chiete men of *Ulster* to be his *Vriaghs*, and to depend on him. His late sending his sonne to be fostered by *Ochane*, betweene whom and him there had beene great enmity, which shewed a present combination, to make way for his further greatnesse. This fostering being the greatest bond of amity amongst the *Irish*. Of this they craue consideration to be had, withall they desire that the pledges of *Mounster* now lying in the Castle of *Dublin*, (for prevention of their escape) might be remoued into *England*, and conclude with request, that some Treasure might bee sent thither, for supply of the Souldiers wants.

These

These cloudes and ouer-castings of the calme and Serene times, which had continued some fewe yeares past, did prognosticate, that stormes would shortly follow, if course were not speedily taken to cleare and disperse them.

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Now *O'donnell* began to be doubted likewise vpon constant Intelligence sent by *Tirlagh Leynaugh*, that he had sent into the Ilands for hired men, to assist him in some action he was about to vndertake; which raised a question in Councell, how he should be dealt withall; some of them being of opinion first to summon him to answer his contempts, and then (if he came not) to raise Forces to fetch him in, or punish him for his disobedience: but the Deputy (restrained from iourneyes in his own person) knowing it would aske long and chargeable worke, to subdue him and his Confederates, dissented from that opinion, and tolde the Councell he would make tryall of a stratagem he had conceiued whereby to bring him in, or secure him from doing harme, before hee would put her Maiesty to so great charge, or hazard her good Subiects, which might breede anyoyance to the Country, and interruption of the present Peace, to which, way was giuen, and the Deputy accordingly attempted it, by sending one *Skipper*, a Merchant of *Dublin*, with a Shippe loaden with Sacks, as if he had come out of *Spain*, directing

O'donnell practiseth with the Ilanders.

A stratagem whereby *O'donnell's* sonne was taken.

S

him

him to runne vp by *Donagall*, as farre as hee could vnto *Odonnell*s Country, where he should not onely offer to sell at a cheape price, but be liberall in giuing Wine to such as should come aboard him: And that if *Odonnell* or his sonne came aboard him by that meanes, (as he knew they would) hee should giue them so much as might make them forget themselves, and being drunke, should clap them vnder hatch, and bring them away to *Dublin*. This deuice was as carefully performed as projected, young *Odonnell* being by this meanes surprized and brought away: A Seruice at that time very auailable to the State, for keeping that Country in quiet, and restraining so stirring a person as *Odonnell* was, from the pursuite of his euill affections, bent at that time against the Queene and her Seruice: Notwithstanding, afterwards in the ensuing trouble, it was imputed as an iniurie done to *Odonnell*, and interpreted as an act that did rather interrupt, then preserue the Peace of that Country; the State thinking that the blame which should be layd vpon Sir *John Perrots* carriage herein would please *Odonnell*, and make him the more apt to bee drawne to conformity and obedience; but this shallow and colloquing pollicy, did worke little effect in him, whose heart was wholly (by forraigne practise) alienated from his loyalty, and by marriage of *Tyrones* Daughter, altogether deuoted to his faction and Seruice, being

A simple deuice of the Councell of Ireland.

ing his assistant and partaker in all his Rebellion.

The Deputy thus busied in the publike, receiues a new interruption by the meanes of his Aduersaries, who had caused a Letter to be written to the Queene, in the name of *Tirlagh Leynaugh*, complayning of the Deputies hard vsage of him, which being certified to the Deputy, much troubled him (because one of his greatest Seruices, was the conforming this man to bee a faithfull seruant to the State) to finde *Tirlagh* Alyend from him; but *Tirlagh* had no sooner notice hereof, but hee sent one *Salomon* his Secretary into *England* to disauowe this Letter, protesting hee neuer caused any such to be written; neither had hee cause; the Lord Deputy alwayes vsing him well, and doing him many fauours; and therefore humbly desired, that the Authior of this forgerie might be punished: But the Deputies respect in *England* being extenuated by continuall information against him thence, little was done to his satisfaction in this particular; and the lesse, because the whole State was filled with the forraigne preparation threatned against *England*, and her Maiesties Dominions; which his Enemies finding, grew more insolent in crossing and opposing his endeouours; which so wearied his impatient Nature, as hee made all the meanes hee could, both by his owne continuall suite, and by the pressing mediation

A letter counterfait to be written by *Tirlagh Leynaugh* to the Queene, but disauowed by himselfe,

The Queene
grants the re-
moue of the
Deputy.

The Deputy
taketh pledges
of all the sus-
pected persons
in Ireland.

of his friends in Court, to be reuoked thence;
which by long importunity he at length obai-
ned promise of from the Queene, who sent
him word shee would shortly provide him a
Successour.

In the meane time, to prevent farther trou-
ble in *Ireland*, that he might leaue all things in
as great security as possibly he could, hee (as
one of his last, but not least Services) sends for
all the Lords and Chieftes, which might in any
part bee suspected, to take part with the for-
raigne Enemie, if any attempt should be made
in that Kingdome by them as was doubted,
and of all these demaunded Pledges for their
owne faithfulnessse, and the quietnesse of their
people: and for the more easie enclining them
to this demaund, which seemed at first harsh
vnto them, he made a solemne speech, where-
in hee declared, that it was done as well for
their owne good, as for the Kingdomes quiet,
for hee knew that the Queene would be well
pleased with their willingnesse, to yeeld testi-
mony of their loyalty vnto her, which could
not but make them better accepted, & trusted
in the time to come; protesting that if the case
concerned him as it did them, he should chuse
rather at this time to be bound, then to be left
at liberty, within the danger of suspition, be-
ing a deepe corrosiue to euery well meaning
man, as he assured himselfe they all were, how-
soeuer their former slips had made them apt

to be doubred, advising them to vse all good meanes for the conservation of Peace in each of their Dominions, whereby their pledges might shortly haue freedome, and they themselves gaine a better estimation for euer.

By this perswasion they did with lesse grudging and contradiction yeeld pledges, which were bestowed in the Castle of *Dublin*, so as all the Heads of all the Provinces in *Ireland* were tyed by this meanes to quietnesse and subiection, which at that time was most necessary, because the Deputy by diuers good intelligences out of *Spain*, whereof hee had given speedy and often information into *England*, knew the *Spanish* preparations were great, and whether intended for *England* or *Ireland*, or for both, was not certaine, but *Ireland* threatned by the common bruite.

This done, the Deputy writes againe to the Queene, humbly thanking her, that at his suite, and for the recovery of his health, which now began to impaire, shee had beene pleased to promise his discharge from that Government, and withall besought her speedily to send his Successour, vsing the same reasons he had formerly done, when it was bruietd he should bee remoued, before it was intended, the loose people being indeede apt out of their euill affection, to take aduantage of the time, and to attempt thar, which they durst

not doe in a confirmed and well countenanced
Gouernement.

At length when this good Deputy had gouerned foure yeares with much trauaile, and good successe; notwithstanding, the opposition mentioned in this discourse, of priuate and particular Aduersaries (the enuiers of his felicity) hee obtained his discharge. And Sir *William Fitz-Williams* was sent to succcede him, who had formerly gouerned that Kingdome, with liking and commendation, which though it bred some hope in the people, that hee would build well vpon his Predecessours platforme, yet it could not keepe the peoples eyes from teares for the losse of Sir *John Perrott*, such impression had his vpright and cleane handed Gouernement (vnusuall to that vnhappy Kingdome) taken in their hearts, as appeared at his departure.

Before his deliuey of the Sword, he gaue a Couered Cup of Siluer giult to the Maior and Citie of *Dublin*, with these words vpon the top engraven, *In Pace relinquo*, meaning that hee left the Citie and Kingdome in peace.

At the deliuey of the Sword in *Christ Church*, hee tolde the new Deputy Sir *William Fitz-Williams* in the publique hearing of many, of whom some are yet liuing.

Now

Sir *William Fitz-Williams* sent into *Ireland*.

The Deputy giueth a Cup to the Citie of *Dublin*.

Now my Lord, since that by her Maies-
ties direction, I have given vp the Gouverne-
ment of this Kingdome into your hands, I
must giue your Lordship to vnderstand (and I
thanke God I may say so) that I leaue it in
perfect peace and tranquillity, which I hope
your Lordship will certifie vnto her Maiestie,
and the Lords of her Councell: to whom the
Deputy made answere, that he confessed it to
be so, and wished he might leaue it no worse.
Then my Lord, replyed Sir *Iohn Perrot*, I must
adde thus much: That if there bee any man
in this Kingdome suspected to be euill minded
to the State, who is able to drawe but fixe
Sword-men after him into the field (if he haue
not already put in pledges for his fidelity) so
your Lordship shall thinke it necessary, I will
vndertake (though now but a private man)
to send for him, and if hee come not within
twentie dayes, I will forsaire the credit and
reputation of my Gouvernement: whereto
the Deputy answered, that all was well, it nee-
ded not.

At Sir *Iohn Perrots* departure from *Dub-
lin*, after hee had left the Sword, many of
the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of that
Kingdome, came thither to see, and take
their leaue of him, so that as hee went
from his Lodging to the Key to take Boate.
The presse of People comming to salute him,
(some with cries of applause, and some with
teares

The loue of
the Irish State
vnto Sir *Iohn
Perrot.*

teares bemoaning his departure) was so great, that he was well-neere two hures before hee could passe the Streete, and was enforced twice or thrice to take house for his ease, to auoyde the throng, amongst whom *Tyrlogh Leynagh* was one, who comming along with him to his Boate, and standing at the Key vntill hee sawe his Ship vnder sayle, did then weepe, and grievously bewayle his departure. Such power hath the opinion of Iustice and sincere gouernement, to make euen them that are barbarous, to loue the Ministers thereof, though themselves know not the things, but by the effects.

At Sir *John Perrots* going to Sea, the Citizens of *Dublin* in testimony of their loue, sent with him some of their young men with Shot to guard him into *Pembroke Shire*, who passed with him to his Castle called *Carewe*, whence hee was not long after called to the Court to be made a Prinie Councillour, the step to his fall and ruine.

Sir *Nicholas White* expressed
of Sir
John Perrots
Gouernment.

Of his Gouernment Sir *Nicholas White*, Master of the Rolles in *Ireland*, and a learned man, wrote these fewe words.

*Pacificauit Connaciam, Relaxauit Mediam,
Subingauit Vltioniam, Fregit Lageniam,
Ligauit Mononiam,
Extirpauit Scotas,
Refrenauit Anglas,
Et his omnibus per aquę uelligal acquisiuit Re-*

Thus

Thus Englished.

He pacified *Connaught*, loosened the bonds of *Meathe*, subdued *Wlster*, brake the bonds of combination in *Leynster*, and bound fast in obedience *Mounster*. Hee extirped the Inuading *Scots*, bridled the bolde Extortions of the *Englsh*, and to all these, added much to the Queenes reueneue: for besides the compositions in *Wlster* and *Connaught* mentioned in this discourse, hee drew newencrease, and reseruations of Rents, Tenures, and Seruices from many Lords of Territories, and sundry other persons in the seuerall Prouinces. The particulars are yet extant to be seene, though tedious here to be set downe: which hee did vpon Surrenders, & renewing of their Estates, which bred a double benefitt vnto the Crown, the better assurance of their Loyalties, and the aduancement of reueneue.

These Seruices so well begun (if they had beene perfected) had made that Kingdome more peaceable, rich, ciuill, and subiect to good Gouvernment: but want of time which makes the best begunne workes to misse the period of their perfection: And Enuie which crosseth the best Designes, left this mans Gouvernment, though successfull, yet without the full fruite with his longer stay (well

T

seconded)

seconded) might have brought forth.

But all humane affaires must have their Periods, and the successe of good or evil in them all, will bee ever in some sort answerable to the Actors intentions.

FIN IS.





